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Pedagogical Traditions and Compositional Theory in Late Nineteenth-Century Italy:

The Legacy of Italian Teaching Methods for *Giovane Scuola* Composers.

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2018

ABSTRACT

Mainstream views on the evolution of opera composition towards its present form are fraught with reductionist – such as Wagnerian – views. These tend to neglect the wider subtleties of an extraordinarily nuanced creative landscape with many landmark influences and threads through time. Particularly barren territory is opera composition of the latter part of the nineteenth century in Italy. This is unfortunate, because the heritage in question stands at the end of a long and distinguished tradition that is worthy of study.

This study demonstrates that *partimento* traditions and their effects are a key factor in this legacy. The Neapolitan compositional school is shown to be very much alive. Understanding this not only sheds light on the late nineteenth century Italian opera composition, but also serves as a small and modest shift towards a view of the evolution of opera composition, as a myriad of fluid forces rather than monolithic steps.

To begin the task of filling this gap in music scholarship, this thesis selects three figures who are arguably the last of the great Italian opera composers – Alfredo Catalani, Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano – to explore their early pedagogical foundations that underpinned their later professional activity. The three are also viewed in the shadow of Giuseppe Verdi, who is relevant for his influence on the *Giovane Scuola* generation.

The approach employed in this research exploits a multitude of rare sources such as sketches, counterpoint notebooks, and the studies of these individuals as pupils. It reconstructs not only the specifics of the composers' training, but also the prevalent compositional theory and practice of the time. In parallel, it undertakes an analysis of relevant aspects of their early compositions and operatic works.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is with great delight that I acknowledge here the help I have received during the undertaking of this work.

It could not have materialised without support from archivists and librarians in locations and institutions too numerous to list, but I am particularly indebted to Elsa Evangelista, the Director of the Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella in Naples, to Gulio Battelli, Director of the library at the Conservatory in Lucca, the Istituto Boccherini, for their generous assistance and permission to reproduce excerpts from sources preserved there, and for their generosity and advice during the very long hours in the place.

I also wish to acknowledge the staff and the music reading room of the British Library, Royal College of Music, and the Department of Music Library of Nottingham University for their great support.

It is both difficult and deeply gratifying to acknowledge the input of, and thank properly, all those friends, colleagues and professors who have helped or taken a close interest in my research, providing information, discussing ideas, or giving suggestions. I want to give special thanks to Sarah Hibberd and Giorgio Sanguinetti for their constructive feedback and skillful guidance. Their constructive suggestions to improve my thesis will always be of great value for my future academic work. I particularly want to thank them for their patient guidance, encouragement and advice. Their help has meant so much to me and it will never be forgotten.

Also, I want to thank Francesco Izzo, Agostino Ziino, Robert O. Gjerdingen, Maria Luisa Baroni, Gaetano Stella, Edward Klorman, Antonio Cascelli, Teresa Gialdroni, Roberta Montemora Marvin, Roberto Ciafrei, amongst others.

My thesis has gained immeasurably from the constant support and great help of my main supervisor, Nicholas Baragwanath. I want to thank him for being my doctoral

advisor, academic mentor and the reader of each and every part of my work. I want to express my gratitude for his constant suggestions and support.

Two friends have been really unstinting with their time by helping me with translations, readings and comments: Tony Corballis for his help and patience to read my work, editing and suggesting improvements to the language, and the composer Andrea Boccadoro.

I owe a special debt to Peter van Tour, who shared important sources, suggestions and fruitful ideas regarding my research, and to two friends and former students of Nottingham University, Adam Whittaker and Alex Kolassa for their help and experiences during our PhD years.

Finally, I would like to offer thanks to my family and relatives Laura, my friends Luca, Marika and Carl for their great support during these years of my work, research and writing.

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INTRODUCTION

The two centuries between the close of the seventeenth century and the end of the nineteenth were among the most fertile in the history of music. Accordingly, an increasing fascination in the study of composers' musical training methods has given rise to a healthy body of research on historical pedagogy.

There is an ongoing revaluation of the Neapolitan school as an essential factor in the training of composers. In particular, renewed attention to the *partimento* tradition, by scholars such as Robert Gjerdingen, Rosa Cafiero, Ludwig Holtmeier, Nicholas Baragwanath and Giorgio Sanguinetti, has led to fresh investigations in understanding mainstream figures such as Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and many others composers.[1] In fact, studies have revealed that despite the influence of the foreign harmonic theory on music education in nineteenth-century Italy, many of the foundational characteristics of ancient Bolognese and Neapolitan schools remained intact.

The study of harmony and counterpoint during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century was approached in an entirely different way as compared to the study of composition today. This distinction derives from the pragmatics of rapidly evolving social structures, passing through the Enlightenment and Industrialisation,

[1] See Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style: Being a Treatise on Various Schemata Characteristic of Eighteenth-Century Music for Courtly Chambers, Chapels, and Theaters, including tasteful passages of Music Draws from most Excellent Chapel Masters in the Emply of Noble and Noteworthy personages. Said Music all collected for the Reader's Delectation on the World Wide Web*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007; "The Perfection of Craft Training in the Neapolitan Conservatories", in *Composizione e improvvisazione nella scuola napoletana del Settecento, Rivista di Analisi Musicale XV/1*, 2009, pp. 50-51; Rosa Cafiero, "La didattica del partimento a Napoli fra Settecento e Ottocento: Note sulla fortuna delle Regole di Carlo Cotumacci", in *Gli affetti convenienti all'idee: studi sulla musica vocale italiana*, Naples, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1993, pp. 549-80; "Teorie armoniche di scuola napoletana ai primi dell'Ottocento: Cenni sulla fortuna di Francesco Durante fra Napoli e Parigi"*, in Giacomo Francesco Milano e il ruolo dell'aristocrazia nel patrocinio delle attività tmusicali nel secolo XVIII,* Reggio Calabria, Gaetano Pitorresi, 2001, pp. 171-98; "The Early Reception of Neapolitan Partimento Theory in France: A Survey", in *Journal of Music Theory* 51/1, 2007, pp. 137-59; "La formazione del musicista nel XVIII secolo: il "modello" dei conservatori napoletani", in Gaetano Stella, *Composizione e improvvisazione nella scuola napoletana del Settecento, Rivista di Analisi Musicale XV/1*, 2009, pp. 5-25; Ludwig Holtmeier, Heinihen, "Rameau and the Italian Thoroughbass Tradition: Concepts of Tonality and chord in the Rule of the Octave", in *Journal of Music Theory 51/1*, 2007, pp. 5-49; Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Italian Tradition & Puccini*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2012; Giorgio Sanguinetti, "The Realization of Partimenti. An Introduction", in *Journal of Music Theory*, 51 (1), 2007, pp. 51-83.

and producing social classes which are more dedicated to aesthetics. A great quantity of rules and guidelines, developed over the centuries to meet the needs of churches, courts, theatres[2], and eventually the opera production system itself, allowed musicians to produce music efficiently and rapidly. Because of its foundations in traditional craft training and the notion of a master with an apprentice, musical education in Italy tended to be very conservative. Teachings were carefully recorded and preserved in order to be passed down through generations, with representative methods which essentially remained unchanged until the early nineteenth century. These pedagogic traditions certainly assist in clarifying and detailing the nature of the compositional practice following which Italian and other composers were being trained.[3]

The late nineteenth century was, however, an unsettling period of flux because Italian composers lost their privileged status and began to be eclipsed by their foreign rivals. The pressure mounted on music schools to modernise themselves. In particular, a distinctive moment in the history of Italian opera, the years of 1880-1900, was the mirror of varied cultural movements in the country. This period was also the last creative years of the Italian opera season which saw the birth of the so-called Young School, *Giovane Scuola*. Nevertheless, many of the foundations of the old traditions remained alive, as this work intends to demonstrate. This investigation is valuable in enabling new perspectives on the late nineteenth century opera composers and highlight the aspects which have not been previously considered, such as the confrontation between the survival of this legacy and the influence on the compositional activities of these composers.

Much has been written about these pedagogic and compositional traditions in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century instrumental and operatic music. [4]The question raised is if the last Italian opera seasons, which conclude almost four centuries of opera creations, totally forgot the great compositional teachings and the

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[2] See also Reinhard Strohm, *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and musicians*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2001.

[3] Alfred Mann, *Teoria e pratica della composizione. I grandi compositori come maestri e come allievi*, edited by Giorgio Sanguinetti, Rome, Astrolabio, 2013; Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century,* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1996.

[4] The essential result of the partimento research studies has been the publication of Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento in Naples: History, Theory and Practice*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2012.

influences of the past or develop its last creativity and opera compositions from a prestigious pedagogic school who allowed the opera composers of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries to be professional musicians producing masterpieces which are still performed in theatres all over the world.

Opera can be analysed using objective criteria, which is the fundamental tool of this thesis as it is the basis for addressing the controversy and providing evidence. Indeed, despite opera having a specifically broad language (which obviously includes visual elements, theatre, singing and other factors which are not included in absolute music), its eighteenth and nineteenth century roots surely had a foundation that can be useful, and surely this can be portrayed in the same way instrumental music has been for at least two centuries. Such compositional practices, mutually useful for all contributors in production and allowing almost any composer to become a professional musician, is based of the art of *solfeggi*[5] and *partimenti* traditions. It allows enhanced comprehension in the analysis of music theory, pedagogic training and the history of analysis itself. Infact, the reconstruction of the guidelines of counterpoint, *partimenti* and schema models[6] as the practice techniques of opera composers such as Verdi, who inherited the prestigious school of the past and the following operatic composers, are fundamental in comprehending the musical production of most, if not all, composers during the period.

The contribution of this research is in exploring the legacy of Italian traditional compositional theory and practice through a survey of the recently uncovered and previously unanalysed primary sources.[7] The sketches, notebooks, fugues studies, *partimenti* realizations and other documents related to early studies of the last Italian

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[5] Nicholas Baragwanath, "Giovanni Battista de Vecchis and the Theory of Melodic Accent from Zarlino to Zingarelli", in *Music & Letters*. 95 (2), 2014, pp.157-182. Baragwanath is currently working on the first book-length study regarding solfeggi's theory and practice: *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century* which is scheduled to appear in 2018.
See also the website from the Nottingham University's Department of Music page:
http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/music/research/projects/solfeggi.aspx

[6] Once again, I refer to the Gjerdingen's study *Music in the Galant Style*, 2007. See also: *Monuments of Partimenti* by Robert O.Gjerdingen, http://facultyweb.a.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/index.htm and the Uppsala Partimento Database project by Peter van Tour, www2.musik.uu.se/UUPart/UUPart.php.

[7] Each chapter will have references to the sources described in this thesis. An additional appendix to this work will list the primary sources regarding the Giovane Scuola composers completely.

opera generations can provide crucial insights. These sources underpin the training received by the *maestri* who used the methods and formulas taught in the conservatories of Naples and Lucca, two of the most important teaching institutions in Italy. With the exception of Giacomo Puccini, whose training has been deeply analysed,[8] the *Giovane Scuola* composers are a case study in understanding this legacy. This work fills a vacuum that currently exists in compositional theory and practice, especially without considering the primary sources, such as the very rare manuscripts described in this thesis and *Giovane Scuola*'s leading figures who are yet to be examined to the extent they deserve.

Certain relevant aspects emerge from the *partimento* and *solfeggi* studies. Such reconstructions through the analysis of these pedagogic traditions, underlying music theories and consequent compositional practice – in their particular context and without prejudice – can help us to appreciate the relevance and use of these methods at the time up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Carrying on the study traditions of composers like Piccinni, Cimarosa and Pergolesi[9] were the likes of Bellini, Ponchielli and finally, as a result this research, the *Giovane Scuola* composers. This is important because they were gradually being eclipsed, forgotten even, by the newer conceptual frameworks which have been emerging since the late nineteenth century.

I have dedicated a lengthy period of study in the archives of the Naples Conservatory and the Conservatory of Lucca, locating and examining manuscripts, sketches, treatises and autograph notebooks containing significant and relevant sources for this thesis investigation. The criteria for selection were their capacity to highlight not only the apprenticeship process of each operatic composer but also to include contexts on the history of music theory and compositional practice. The primary scope was exclusively from Alfredo Catalani, Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano. The

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[8] See also: Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Puccini's music in the theoretical Italian Literature of its day", in *Tosca's Prism, Three Moments of Western Cultural History*, edited by Debora Burton, Susan Vandiver Nicassio, and Agostino Ziino, Boston, Northeastern University Press, 2004, pp. 221-245;

[9] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 2007. A deep study on Pergolesi and partimento traditions is exploited in Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Gli schemi di partimento in alcune composizione sacre di Pergolesi: modelli, materiali e trasformazioni", *in Studi Pergolesiani*, edited by Francesco Cotticelli and Paolo Giovanni Maione, Bern, Peter Lang AG, 2015, pp. 457-484.

rudiments of music theory and composition are an ever-present part of every student's training. Despite this, these rare sources are unique as they reveal the particular personal preferences of the composers in their influences. As in art, such as Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks[10], sketch or painting done in preparation for a finished professional work might enhance our knowledge of the artist's training, problems involving the planning of elements such as light, colour, perspective, form and also composition. Similarly, in music, these studies can help us to understand the elaboration on the elementary structures which Cilea or Giordano learnt when they were students and the significance of this legacy on their compositional ideas.[11] It is very rare, for example, to get the chance to find a late nineteenth century *partimenti* written by the composer himself, such as Umberto Giordano's own *partimento* and elaboration. Therefore, I will highlight the changes at the turn of the century, the contrast among the legacies and the appearance to different perspectives at different points of time. I will focus on the conventions of scheme and contrapuntal patterns as well as the rising innovations among *Giovane Scuola* composers as their activity matured. It reveals a fascinating dialogue between the past and the contemporary, at that point of time.

We, thereby, run into a problem and an associated question arising from the specific analysis of opera in the late nineteenth century. Anyone who is concerned with analytical studies is aware of the modesty of the achievements in this area, especially through a comparison with the excellent results obtained in the field of instrumental music. Thus, this work aims to contribute to the uncovering of those aspects of opera analysis which have remained in the shadows. We will suggest an analytical approach highlighting the influence of pedagogic and theoretical traditions which were still alive in the training of late nineteenth-century opera composers, including the so-called 'ancient' music and sacred work, following the rediscovery of the ecclesiastic music of the previous century. These traditions were strictly connected with the *partimento* and *solfeggio* practices, the study of the *basso continuo* and fugues, and the predominance of counterpoint study in 'modern' harmonic approach.

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[10] Leonardo da Vinci, *Notebooks*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.

[11] Friedman Sallies, *Music Sketches*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Herein, it is necessary to remove the ambiguity around the term analysis, which I will refer to in my doctoral research. By analysis, I refer to the study of the paradigms and compositional traditions that elucidate the interrelationships among the various aspects of melody and counterpoint. My approach will not utilise Rameau's harmonic theories or Riemann's functional theory[12]. It will refer to analytical approaches[13] which are still used by modern theorists but will especially consider the elements still seen as fundamental to study the compositions by opera composers at the end of the nineteenth century.[14] These elements include Fuxian contrapuntal theory, thoroughbass, references, the rediscovery of sacred music patterns recalling the old masters of history, the study of the fugue, and above all, the *partimento* tradition. The term analysis will also consider the Gjerdingen schemata theory which integrates the analysis of the compositional processes of *Giovane Scuola* composers. In other words, the dominance of the counterpoint study in the curriculum of these composers and *partimento* patterns learnt as students will be the guiding principle of my approach. Thus, my analysis highlights the primary techniques that elaborate certain fundamental compositional structures in *Giovane Scuola* operatic sections.

Having identified a significant gap in the musicological literature, defined my analytical focus and the approach in gathering evidence, namely by archival research, and having elected three particular composers, it is useful now to also establish a slightly wider context. As mentioned above, despite timid steps in the 1970s [15] and the recent excellent works devoted to the analysis of opera, international musicology has only recently accepted Italian opera as deserving of attention for theoretical and analytical studies. Amongst other works, I should mention the studies of very valuable scholarship that is dedicated to nineteenth-century opera analysis. Deborah Burton

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[12] Jean Philipe Rameau, *Traité de l'harmonie reduite a ses principes naturels*, Paris, Ballars, 1772; Hugo, Riemann, *Musikalisce Logik, Leipzig, c.f.Kahnt*, 1874; *Die Natur der Harmonik, Sammlung musikalischer Vortrage*, 1882, pp.157-190, trans. J.C.Filmore as "The Nature of the Harmony", in *New Lessons in Harmony*, edited by J.C.Filmore, Philadelphia, T.Presser, 1887.

[13] Amongst other works, see also Jonathan Dunsby and Arnold Whittall, *Music Analysis in Theory and Practice*, London, Faber Music Ltd, 1988.

[14] See also the excellent guide, *Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker, A Bibliography and Guide*, edited by David Damschroder and David Russell Williams, New York, Pendragon Press, 1990.

[15] These aspects are investigated in the significant work *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, edited by Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

(2012) aimed to demonstrate the study of tonal and motivic structures and Wagnerian influences on Puccini and his works.[16] A worthy piece of research into Vincenzo Bellini's *Norma*, with a Schenkerian study of *Casta Diva*, including opera analysis published by Giorgio Sanguinetti (2003).[17] His significant essays encompass Verdi and the eighteenth-century traditions as well as an eloquent analysis of Don Carlo's duet in the first act (1999).[18] Moreover, a dissection of Bellini's tonal structures in the passages from *Norma* and *La Straniera* was carried out by William Rothstein in his *Tonal Structures in Bellini* (2012)[19]. Finally, an extensive study on the Italian theoretical and compositional practice of nineteenth-century opera seasons is presented by Nicholas Baragwanath in his work, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*[20]. Of particular importance are the chapters highlighting the *partimento* and *solfeggio* traditions.

Despite the importance of Giovane Scuola's operas at the end of the century and even in contemporary repertoire, in the theatres, amongst the bibliography and literatures dedicated to these composers[21], no analytical work could have been examined. Excluding Giacomo Puccini[22], analytical studies have rarely (and not in-depth) dedicated any work to these composers and their musical and cultural context have

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[16] Deborah Burton, *Recondite Harmony: Essays on Puccini's Operas*, Pendragon Press, 2012. A seminal work on the analysis of opera and Puccini "*Si può, si deve analizzare l'opera?" was held in Rome (26-27 May) 2016 and Burton highlighted the Wagnerian influences on Puccini's operas and the problem of opera analysis in recent years.*

[17] "Casta diva o la soavità delle dissonanze", in *«…et facciam dolçi canti ... » Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, edited by Bianca Maria Antolini, Teresa M. Gialdroni, Annunziato Pugliese, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana 2003, pp. 1133-1148; Amongst other analytical works of the same author I should mention: Giorgio Sanguinetti, Galanterie romantiche: la "quiescenza" nell'Ottocento, in *Musica come pensiero e come azione. Studi in onore di Guido Salvetti* edited by Marina Vaccarini, Maria Grazia Sità e Andrea Estero, LIM, Lucca, 2015.

[18] La funzione drammatica del campo tonale: il duetto tra Carlo ed Elisabetta nel secondo atto del Don Carlo, in *Intersezioni: Quattro studi di teoria e analisi musicale*, Cosenza, Universita' della Calabria, Facolta' di Lettere e filosofia, 1999, pp.137-183.

[19] William Rothstein, "Tonal Structures in Bellini," in *Journal of Music Theory*, 56 (2), Durham, Duke University Press, 2012; See also *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music*, New York, Schrimer, 1989.

[20] Baragwanath, *The Italian Tradition & Puccini.,* 2012.

[21] See chapters 3, 4, and 5.

[22] It is not possible to mention the full analytical studies regarding Giacomo Puccini here. Amongst others, I should mention the studies by Harold Powers, such as "La "solita forma" and The Uses of Convention", in *Acta Musicologica*, 50, 1987, pp.65-90; "Form and Formula", in *Studi Pucciniani* 3, 2004, pp.11.49. A complete guide to Puccini's studies is *Giacomo Puccini: A Guide to Research*, by Linda Fairtile, New York, Garland Sciene, 1999.

scarcely been explored. Moreover, the relevant studies dedicated to Francesco Cilea, Umberto Giordano and Alfredo Catalani's early studies, have rarely referred to their early formations and the importance of knowing this background. Their general biographies[23] mostly take a Romantic approach which sees these young composers as music students rapidly developing into musical prodigies, garnishing the early attention of noted musicians and editors of the day such as Sonzogno or Ricordi, followed by a great career by dint to their talent. Rather, they tended to single out the contemporary Wagnerian or French influences of the time. This approach generally considered the classic-romantic idea of 'spontaneous' creation and inspirational art[24], and was inherently problematic in viewing the musical language of Italian opera as having diverged from the Austro-German traditions of instrumental music. I should recall the idea of Harold Powers who wrote in his *La solita forma and 'The Use of Convention'*:

"Our approach to analysis is generally both prospective and Germanic: we look at works as we hear them, and we think of each as a predecessor of all that follows, ultimately of us: furthermore, we approach them with perceptions trained on the analysis and criticism of instrumental music from North of Alps".[25]

The next manoeuvre taken up by theorists was the way in which the more recent and increasingly dominant Wagnerian framework can be used to assess composers like Verdi and Puccini.[26] The novel operatic music analysis asserted that opera may be usefully evaluated using the same frameworks as 'absolute music', or the artistic context moulded by Wagner and his theoretical and musical influence. All this betrays a strong ideological bias. It is this neglected perspective that is to be considered in this work, which derives its main from musicological literature. I specifically refer to an

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23 See chapters 3, 4 and 5 for a detailed bibliography regarding this aspect.

24 Fabrizio della Seta, *Not without Madness*, Translated by Mark Weir, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2013.

25 Harold Powers, "'La solita forma' and "The Uses of Conventions'", in *Acta Musicologica,* 59, (1), 1987, p.76.

26 Amongst the recall to the historiography of the past, by researchers such as Alfred Eistein, Edward J. Dent or Donald J. Grout, I should mention an important result which investigates the influences in other recent music histories: Elvidio Surian, "Musical Historiography and Histories of Italian Opera", in *Current Musicology* 36, 2003, pp.167-75. Amongst the studies which investigate the consequences of adopting and discuss Wagner's conception of *Musikdrama* in opera historiography, see Fabrizio della Seta, "Some Difficulties in the Historiography of Italian Opera", in *Not without Madness*, 2013 pp.119-130. See also David Kimbell, *Italian Opera*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

inter-connectedness between music and the dramaturgical context, using the legacy introduced earlier. An analytical approach that considers the actual compositional legacies evident in pedagogies will reveal how these century-old traditions were essential parts of drama as well as music. In doing so, it lays the foundations for accessibility to properly comprehending Italian opera masterpieces. The under-valued Italian traditions of the late nineteenth century, in terms of the under-appreciated relations between music and theatre, are restored using examples from music analysis which consider the importance of their compositional practice, which does not deny the past but embraces it and integrates it wthin the contemporary artistic ideas of the ultimate generation of composers.

This contribution, which might establish a framework for further studies, asks such questions that it does not intend to close definitively or assertively. If the contrapuntal patterns of past traditions were an integral part of the musical praxis of opera composers before Verdi, these schemes could be used as musical *tòpoi*, to recall a specific dramaturgical atmosphere, a *tinta* or a musical colour within an act, for generations of later musicians in the perspective of the music production of the second half of the 19th century. By the end of the nineteenth century, musical composition had lost the delicate union between *ars* – the pedagogic traditions – and *exercitium* – the acquired professional skills.[27] This may be considered as a rich area of interest for further research.

Notwithstanding the direction of this thesis as introduced so far, when it claims to demonstrate the importance and legacy of *partimento* traditions and the pillars of the older compositional practices at the end of the century, it does not suggest that opera composers of that time continued to compose in the same way as eighteenth-century composers. Many cultural and artistic changes occurred within the musical milieu in late nineteenth-century Italy, as overviewed in the Introduction to Chapter 2, and some of my analytical examples do not intend to assert themselves as an axiom that a specific scheme was used in the same way as it had been in the previous century. For

[27] Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Decline and Fall of the 'Celeste Impero': The Theory of Composition in Naples during the Ottocento", in *Studi Musicali XXXIV*, 2005/2, pp.451-502; An essential study provided by Sanguinetti is "Un secolo di teoria della musica in Italia. Bibliografia critica (1850-1950)", in *Fonti musicali italiane II*, 1997, pp.155-248.

opera composers such as Paisiello or Cimarosa, the *partimento* schemes, the specific cadences recalling the sacred works or other Neapolitan contrapuntal patterns were used as a sort of *zibaldone,* where the composer – often automatically – could take advantage of his training. Practice and theory were unified, and the composer was like a craftsman. An opera composer, such as Catalani or Cilea, however, would pick and choose more knowingly, and would not automatically employ specific patterns to improvise or quickly compose operas as they were done previously. In fact, from the age of Verdi[28], but even more so with the Giovane Scuola generation school, the partimento traditions were not always used within a specific dramaturgical context/object within opera works. However, as this work demonstrates, these traditions are present, and this 'inheritance' is an integral part of the compositional process among the composer's various compositional proceeds. The question posed concerns *how* these schemes might have been chosen and used within musical productions by Cilea, Giordano or Catalani, as well as by Puccini. *Partimento* schemes recalls the old-fashioned patterns of ecclesiastic music, the *basso continuo* voice leading or the counterpoint of the Neapolitan school pillars, such as the Rule of the Octave, which a were still part of the compositional practice of Giovane Scuola composers. Their use was no longer as an eighteenth-century compositional *zibaldone*, but as a legacy of his studies and years of musical practice which the composer could choose to concentrate on or not.

Here, we are not concerned with the veracity or statements studying if one scheme or another could have a certain significance when Cilea or Catalani created an elaboration on the specific structures of the partimento scheme or fugue, just as we cannot always give a certain assessment of an artistic recall to past traditions on a painting by Van Gogh or an Impressionist painter. Rather, what is important here is to consider the relationship between these opera composers' training and the legacy of their training

[28] In the field of Verdi studies, scholars have given attention to early analytical studies. Abramo Basevi's *Studio sulle opera di Giuseppe Verdi* (1859) and many other analytical works have shown signs of a growing interest but the absence of musicological studies regarding a deep study showing the link between Verdi and the partimento traditions is still missing. My first chapter is dedicated to this field, mainly to highlight the link between the legacy of the past which Verdi inherits and the following influences on the late nineteenth century Giovane Scuola composers who followed Verdi's great extremes on this tradition and shared the same training. However, the chapter is an introduction to my following research on the late nineteenth century study and hopefully, it will encourage a further interest in theoretical and analytical works on this subject.

in the different usages to which a late nineteenth century opera composer could (or not) employ a specific *partimento* pattern or sacred vocal schemes. My hypothesis suggests a conscious choice of these patterns because, amongst the several choices that a composer in the late nineteenth century (but also from Verdi's generation) could have chosen, they specifically used these schemes because they were a part of their musical thinking. This suggestion might be towards somewhat of an interpretation, but the importance here is to lead us to an understanding of how the dramaturgical context and the specific tonal language of the opera season may interplay. An understanding of the basis of nineteenth-century compositional practice helps break down the historical barriers that were erected.

Schemes, such as *partimento* patterns, are a mutual patrimony of generations of musicians of the nineteenth century such as Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, Brahms as well as musicians following the Giovane Scuola in the twentieth century musical productions. For Giordano or Cilea, these revered pedagogic and compositional traditions could have had a considerable value for his operatic creativity and shared conventions, a fascinating dialectic between the conventions of compositional schemes and innovations of their artistic culture and period. If Cilea or Giordano consistently referred to the pedagogic traditions of the past, to their Neapolitan compositional school training and to the importance of the old Master of Sacred Music such as Alessandro Scarlatti, how can we not consider the significance that these traditions have in their musical and dramaturgical artistic *credo* and in the recalls to these patterns and schemes present in their operas? Is it possible to understand the mode of their musical thinking, which might include the legacy of their compositional practice traditions? Is there any mutual legacy among the musicians of "absolute music", such as Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms and Bellini, Verdi or Giordano, in terms of their mutual tonal language legacy?

The works of the late nineteenth century opera composers, with an introduction to Giuseppe Verdi as *trait d'union* between the past and the present, specifically wanted to answer these musicological and unstudied questions. In fact, questions still exist over the extent to which the Giovane Scuola generation abandoned such compositional practices, deeming it to be outdated and irrelevant, in favour of the fresher musical

influences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, or perhaps the extent to which they covertly or explicitly sustained and helped these conservative traditions to endure. Indeed, after Verdi's long and magnificent career, certain forces within Italian opera seemed to express a need for resurrecting its former glories. The Giovane Scuola training at the end of the nineteenth century still included the study of the sacred works of the past, in which the Neapolitan masters excelled in Italy as well as in Europe. Together with the rediscovery of "ancient" music in the late nineteenth century and the traditions of the ecclesiastical music of the past, to which the practice of *partimenti* was closely connected, the influences of these traditions are explored within the earlier studies and works of Cilea, Catalani and Giordano.

The above-mentioned work of Baragwanath's Puccini and Italian traditions (2012) is an important antecedent to this thesis. The Giovane Scuola generation included Giacomo Puccini, whom I often mention, and especially Catalani's years in Lucca, and the two are studied together. However, Puccini is not highlighted because Baragwanath (2012) has covered much of this ground.

There are other composers I chose not to focus on in this thesis, like Ruggero Leoncavallo and Pietro Mascagni. One of the novelties with respect to the Baragwanath study, which gives detailed descriptions of several contemporary printed theoretical treatises in the absence of direct autographic sources regarding Puccini as student, is its concern with the direct contribution of the manuscript sources discovered in the archives of the Naples Conservatory and other Italian musical institutes. These primary sources relating to the studies of young opera composers of the late nineteenth century are few and very rare. These two composers have not been deliberately selected for my study due to an absence of relevant manuscripts documenting their student years, although both of them also experienced the same formation based on the Neapolitan school, in Tuscany in the case of Mascagni, and in the Neapolitan conservatory itself in the case of Leoncavallo.

Moreover, this thesis is not designed to scrutinise all the pillars related to the Neapolitan school, *partimento* tradition and compositional practice of the eighteenth

and early nineteenth centuries in detail. Neither will it address the general music theory and compositional schools of the nineteenth century.[29]

This study will conclude with an evidence-based and revisionist assessment of the last season of late nineteenth century Italian opera, that fulfils the aims of the above research. Each chapter provides a representative case, wherein a late nineteenth century Italian opera is analysed with the aim of demonstrating the persistent significance of traditional Italian teachings in its compositional practice. Additionally, each one will provide a historical pedagogical context as well as relevant elements of the compositional theory of the time, as this is a basis for understanding the composer as well.

The work begins with an introduction chapter which provides a significant background related to the pillars of *partimento* traditions throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This will provide a context for the rest of the thesis and an analysis of operatic composers. The second chapter is dedicated to Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) and an introduction to the musical and cultural context of the following operatic generation belonging to the so called-*Giovane Scuola*. It may be questioned as to why he is chosen, since he was not in apprenticeship during the period being discussed but was rather an accomplished composer already. The answer is in pursuing a specific analysis. Verdi represents the *trait d'union* between the eighteenth and early nineteenth century traditions and thus, is an important composer influencing the future of the ensuing composers like Giordano or Puccini. According to recent studies (Montemora, Sanguinetti), Verdi represents a figure who links the past with nineteenth century traditions. His training was rooted in his late-nineteenth century Neapolitan milieu and it was this crucial point, the synthesis between the previous pedagogic tradition and the new operatic generation, which accompanied the longevity of Verdi's creativity.

[29] The above mentioned significant work by Baragwanath closely examines the methods, sources and theories of nineteenth-century opera seasons, using mainly the available printed sources of the the century. It is a valuable compendium for anyone with a more probing and analytical interest in opera, compositional practice and music theory of the time.

It is well-known that Verdi too was trained according to the traditional methods. His agenda for the future of Italian music involved the promotion of a conservative return to the past. Examples from Verdi's early works, such as *Rigoletto, Traviata and Trovatore*, will be discussed in the light of an emerging body of scholarly literature and my own research concerning the analysis of nineteenth century Italian opera. Held in great esteem by the *Giovane Scuola* composers, Verdi is a significant example of the link between the past and the *Giovane Scuola* compositional legacies. He exemplifies how opera composers use particular theoretical and pedagogic skills. The sense of continuity in Verdi's use of such musical patterns reflect both the operatic and dramaturgical contexts and proved to be a building block for the future of Italian opera. Subsequently, an introduction to the cultural and musical context at the turn of the century is provided in the same chapter. In such an environment, the *Giovane Scuola* composers studied and became professional musicians. We explore the importance of the role of the two powerful Ricordi and Sonzogno publishers and the cultural milieu of the years in which the artists produce their masterpieces.

The research then moves on to re-evaluate Catalani's accomplishments by outlining how his Tuscan apprenticeship in Lucca is highly significant in his early works. There is a survey on musical life in Lucca during the mid-nineteenth century and the wider influence of its institutions and *maestri*. Relevant primary sources on compositional teaching in Lucca, especially those relating to Catalani, lead to an important reassessment which required analyses of his early works, in particular an unpublished, and hitherto unstudied, *Mass*, as well as his early operas such as *Dejanice*. We use sources which have never been analysed before but are still preserved or belong to musical life in Lucca. Overlooking of the figure of Francesco Cilea (1866-1950) by opera analysis scholars will be re-evaluated, as a way to counterbalance the prevailing historiographical norms that marginalize and obscure the once thriving and commercially successful repertoire of Italian opera in the late nineteenth century. This will involve a reconstruction of his years of study and a discussion of his early works, in light of the traditions which continued to preserve the legacy of compositional training outlined in the previous chapters. There will be investigations into the, hitherto unknown, autograph manuscripts by Cilea, currently held at the *Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella* in Naples. They provide insights into the kind of

training received by Neapolitan students in those times, which included the study of fugues. Several examples obtained from the rare manuscripts and rediscovered autographs on the fugues and *partimento* influences, both on Cilea and Giordano's primary studies, are analysed at the end of this chapter.

Following this, chapter four focuses on one of Cilea's classmates in Naples, Umberto Giordano (1867-1948), a man who openly declared his proud allegiance to a long line of artistic predecessors such as Piccinni, Paisiello, and Mercadante. Much remains unknown about his professional training and the influence on the compositional practice. Despite producing great masterpieces like *Andrea Chènier*, *Mala vita* and *Fedora*, Giordano is another composer who has been unjustly overlooked in the history of music and opera analysis. His operas need references to his background in Naples, which this chapter provides, and they deserve an interpretative and analytical reassessment of his artistic merit. Sadly, they have been almost entirely neglected in modern scholarship. For Giordano, we use sources which have never been analysed before but are still preserved in Naples. In the Neapolitan Conservatory library, there are numerous autographs containing exercises by this youthful composer. These are precious and hitherto unknown sources which document the methods of study at the *San Pietro a Majella* Conservatory during the last decades of the nineteenth century, including anecdotes with regard to his early work. Examples taken from his operatic works will present an evidence where the pedagogic traditions, as compared to the primary sources described in the chapter, represent an essential legacy in his compositional practice and suggest an analytical approach which also considers the importance of late nineteenth century theoretical and pedagogic traditions.

Following the above five chapters, the dissertation concludes with a summary of the extensive evidence from each chapter that reframes the compositional legacies in light of the particular pedagogies which were scrutinised, to clearly reveal and demonstrate how century-old traditions – often inseparable from wide-ranging dramaturgical contexts – have not only survived robustly, but have quintessentially remained an integral part of the theoretical and pedagogic traditions and compositional practices of the last Italian opera composers.

CHAPTER 1

PEDAGOGICAL TRADITIONS AND COMPOSITIONAL PRACTICE FOR OPERATIC COMPOSERS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

The aim of this chapter is not to carry out a deep investigation on the theory and practice of *solfeggi* and *partimenti*, which have already been observed in several previous studies.[30] These two pillars of the Neapolitan school are deeply examined in an important work dedicated to the art of *partimento*[31] and the in-depth research carried out by relevant scholars.[32] Furthermore, the compositional schemes of this eighteenth-century music have previously been analysed in the works of Robert Gjerdingen[33] and in several other studies referred to throughout this research. [34] Further research has been dedicated to the practice of *Scuola Napoletana,*[35] and the

[30] A list of studies on *partimento* is provided in the Introduction of this dissertation, and each chapter provides specific bibliography regarding the nineteenth-century sources and essential guidelines for research on Neapolitan and Bolognese pedagogic methods.

[31] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, Oxford University Press, 2012.

[32] Nicholas Baragwanath's article on the theory of melodic accent is significant for revealing the conservative traditions regarding a forgotten practice and theory: "Giovanni Battista De Vecchis and the Theory of melodic Accent from Zarlino to Zingarelli", *Music and Letters* 95 (2), 157–182. The author had been working on a project regarding *solfeggi* and their theory and rules, which have never been discovered before: *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art of Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century* represents an important research about this Neapolitan practice, which involved probably all the opera composers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The scholar also runs a JISCMail list with a detailed website for anyone interested in historical music pedagogy, including the areas of *solfeggio* and *partimento*: www.historicalmusicpedagogy.ac.uk

[33] See Robert O. Gjerdingen's website Monuments of Partimenti:
http://facultyweb.a.northwestern.edu/gjerdingen/partiment/index.htm.
His book on Galant music has been considered an important contribution for the music theory and schemata patterns connected with the *partimento* tradition*: Music in the Galant Style*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2007. See also "Partimenti written to impart a knowledge of Counterpoint and Composition," in *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and Practice,* edited by Dirk Moleants, Leuven, Collected writings of the Orpheus Institute, Leuven University Press, 2010, pp. 43–70.

[34] A complete list of musicological works of the Neapolitan school can be found at the end of this dissertation.

[35] I should mention the works written by Peter van Tour: *Counterpoint and Partimento: Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*. Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia. Series 25, Uppsala, 2015; and the more recent paper on Francesco Durante and his sources: "Partimento' teaching according to Francesco Durante, investigated through the earliest Manuscript Source*s"*, in *Studies in Historical Improvisation: From Cantare Super Librum to Partimento,* edited by Massimiliano Guido, London, Routledge, 2017. The following database is a useful guide for research on *partimenti*: Research

findings from this work will continue to have a significant impact on the current academic world of musicology. Rather, this chapter will give the reader an introduction to the historical context and methodological rules of the past compositional traditions, which remained influential for the training of composers in late nineteenth-century Italian cultural life.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first seeks to recall in brief and shed light on the historical context of Italian schools of composition, particularly the general axioms and rules of the Neapolitan counterpoint, with an awareness that it will only linger on certain relevant patterns. This is significant for the analytical work of the successive chapters. The second part will highlight the theoretical and pedagogic musical context of composition in the late nineteenth century, by which the *Giovane Scuola* composers were trained and influenced. This is by no means to discuss the general music theory of that time or the entire history of compositional practice of the second half of that century. Rather, it will observe he Neapolitan traditions in Italy at that time and the connection with the eighteenth-century practice – an unbroken heritage – namely, what remains and why and what changed, during the period in which Francesco Cilea, Umberto Giordano and Alfredo Catalani, following Giuseppe Verdi's steps, were trained and influenced.

In the first part, in order to comprehend the training that nineteenth-century composers received and understand the importance of the legacy of the late nineteenth-century composers, I provide a general overview of the basis of the study of counterpoint and *partimenti* during the 'golden age' of the Neapolitan school, examining the guidelines within specific lessons for the student composers, and supporting this throughout by means of ample evidence to display this esteemed practice.

The brief observations in this chapter are based on the existing *partimenti* and Neapolitan methods of literature, which have been significant for this research. By scrutinising in this way, it will assist the reader to better understand the axioms of this school with a vision to assist them in locating and clarifying the connections between

Database UUPart: The Uppsala partimento Database project, 2014: www2.musik.uu.se/UUPart/UUPart.php.

the analysis of Verdi's operas and his training with Vincenzo Lavigna, and to further emphasise the music examples I have provided to illustrate the training completed by the *Giovane Scuola* composers.

This brief historical introduction is also dedicated to the masters and the sources used by opera composers (but not exclusively) during their *apprendistato*. A deeper understanding of the importance of this training is provided in a quotation by Giorgio Sanguinetti:

> Modern musicians often gaze in awe at the fast working pace of great composers such as Gaetano Donizetti (who wrote his masterpiece, Lucia di Lammermoor, in just five weeks) and take this as a token of genius. For sure, Donizetti was a genius, but his fast composition has nothing to do with that. Every professionally-trained Italian composer was able to compose an opera in five weeks, or less if necessary. This was the result of training, and not of genius.[36]

The guidelines and the sources of this training for opera composers are the object of this chapter.

1.1 A brief introduction to compositional practice in 18th and early 19th century Italy

The assumption that Italian theory and practice disappeared after the early Baroque was one of the consequences of the influence of German musicology upon twentieth-century music theory researchers.[37] In the following chapters, I will demonstrate the continuity of the Neapolitan compositional practice until the early twentieth century opera season and provide evidence that explains why opera composers were so devoted to their training. This includes Gaspare Spontini (1774–1851), Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848), Gioacchino Rossini (1792–1868), Vincenzo Bellini (1801–

[36] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, pp. 6–7.

[37] See the article "Genres of Music Theory, 1650–1750 "by Thomas Christensen, in *Towards Tonality. Aspects of Baroque Music Theory*, collected writings of Orpheus Institute, Leuven University Press, Ghent, Belgium, 2007. Another thoughtful study can be found in Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, 1996. Another remarkable study including eighteenth century music theory and compositional practice is *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* edited by Thomas Christensen, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010.

1834) and Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870), who owed their careers to *partimento* and *solfeggio* guidelines.

Previous research studies completed by Paolo Sullo[38] and Peter van Tour have helped to catalogue and introduce the forgotten sources of *solfeggi*. Nicholas Baragwanath's investigations regarding the theory and practice of *solfeggi* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century have presented a strong argument to reconsider the history of compositional practice during this great period, when *solfeggi* were the foundation of every opera composer's training.[39]

Solfeggi is a new area of research into the Neapolitan compositional practice; it is important for reference, as it was the first step for any aspiring musician. As mentioned previously, this piece of work will not investigate the origins and influences of *solfeggi* methods during the nineteenth century but will focus instead on the fundamental *partimento* patterns and the resulting legacy in the late nineteenth century.

This brief introduction will give the reader an opportunity to understand the main axioms of Neapolitan counterpoint, which includes cadences, the Rule of the Octave, bass motions and some of the guidelines that were the fundamental rules for composers such as Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816), Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736), Domenico Cimarosa (1749–1801) and Niccolo' Piccini (1728–1800), along with later composers such as Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901), Amilcare Ponchielli (1834–1886), Arrigo Boito (1842–1918), Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924) and Francesco Cilea (1866–1950).

The eighteenth and nineteenth century not only saw a significant increase in the popularity of opera as a musical genre, but also an increase in demand for opera performances as a form of entertainment for the general public; both of these together catalysed the growing demand for composers, singers and professional musicians.

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[38] Paolo Sullo, "I solfeggi di Leo e lo studio della forma nella scuola napoletana del Settecento", in *Rivista Italiana di Teoria e Analisi,* XV/1, 2009, pp. 87–115.

[39] See also: Ludwig Holtmeier, Johannes Menke, *Solfeggi, Bassi e Fughe. Georg Friedrich Handels Ubungen zur Satzlehre*, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Ars Musica, Wilhelmshaven, 2013.

The Neapolitan conservatoires not only just allowed the musical apprenticeship to be undertaken by the virtuoso singers who trod the boards, the courts and the high society salons, but also for a wide variety of composers, professional teachers, chapel masters, organists and copyists of music, who were essential in transcribing musical sources for theatres. All these professional figures needed to be placed in employment, not only as opera composers but very often in religious institutions. This aspect will help us to understand why among the opera composers of the late nineteenth century, it is not a surprise to observe sacred works such as motets and especially masses.[40]

The role of Italian conservatoires during the eighteenth century was essential. The most important music institutions in Europe from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century were in Naples, where conservatoires became the only professional music schools.[41] The fundamental disciplines taught in those prestigious conservatoires were the art of singing, the skill to improvise, the study of the keyboard and the study of compositions following the counterpoint Neapolitan practice.[42] The number of chapel masters who trained the young students could be from one to four, and more masters could help as teachers. Amongst them, the *mastricelli*, who were mature students and

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[40] Rosa Cafiero, "La formazione del musicista nel XVIII secolo: il 'modello' dei conservatori napoletani," in Gaetano Stella (edited by), *Composizione e improvvisazione nella scuola napoletana del Settecento*, *Rivista Italiana di Teoria e Analisi, AXV/I,* 2009, pp. 5–25.

[41] See also: Reinhard Strohm (editor), *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian music and Musicians*, Speculum musicale, vol. III, Brepols, Turnhout, 2001.

[42] Recent issues regarding the teaching of counterpoint in the Neapolitan conservatories have aroused the interest of historians and music theorists. In particular, Peter van Tour dedicates a consistent part of his work, *Counterpoint and Partimento, methods of teaching composition in late eighteenth-century Naples*, to investigate this old but still ambiguous problem. Although this aspect is not discussed in this dissertation, it might be relevant to mention the differences between the two most famous schools in Naples. Rosa Cafiero summarized the problem describing the two schools: Leisti, from Leonardo Leo's teaching, and Durantisti, who were heavily influenced by the school of Francesco Durante: 'A number of historiographic myths concerning the rise and "flowering" of the Neapolitan school of composition in the eighteenth century have grown up following two parallel traditions, the first descending from the educational methods of Francesco Durante (1684–1755) and mostly characterized by "simplicity" and the second descending from the teaching heritage of Leonardo Leo (1694–1774) and mainly inspired by "complexity". In his monumental history of Neapolitan school, Francesco Florimo (1882) tells us how the followers of the two masters (the Durantisti and the Leisti) disagreed profoundly as far as teaching methods were concerned: The Leisti took great pains with chordal richness, harmonic progression, voice leading, contrapuntal invention, in sum, with artfulness and skill rather than with spontaneity. By contrast the Durantisti focused mainly on melody, on clear voice leading, on easy modulations, on harmonic elegance and on effect intended as the most proper means to create music to please, rather than to surprise. The latter method, which triumphed over the former, has given fame to the Neapolitan school", in Rosa Cafiero, "The Early Reception of Neapolitan Partimento theory in France: A Survey", in *Journal of Music Theory, 51/1*, 2007, pp. 137–138.
This quote might help the reader to understand why nineteenth-century opera composers, until the *Giovane Scuola*'s generations, who saw the progressive decline of the Leist school, adopted, for their teaching with their masters and for obvious professional reasons, the melodic school of Durante.

more expert, taught the younger students. This tradition ended with the last representative opera composer of this secular heritage, Francesco Cilea, who was one of the *mastricelli* for other students in the Neapolitan conservatoire in 1890.

The hierarchy in the Neapolitan conservatories allowed a continuative pedagogic training from the teacher to the young student, and all training was based completely on practice *exempl*a. In fact, one of the main advantages of these methods consisted in the verbal transmission of knowledge through *partimento* teaching.

One pedagogic tradition that should be recalled in this short introduction is the Bolognese tradition,[43] often associated with one of the most important and influential teachers of his time: Padre Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–1784), whose pedagogic traditions included a significant *partimento* tradition as common traditions shared also by Neapolitan conservatoires. Bologna was in fact another important musical center who developed an own *partimento* tradition in which Padre Martini and then his student Padre Stanislao Mattei (1750-1825) were the most celebrated teachers and theorist outside of the Neapolitan Conservatories. [44] In fact, when I refer to the Bolognese traditions in this work, I remain cognizant of its tight connection with the Neapolitan traditions taught in the conservatories. Martini's students[45] continued his teaching, and their names became highly acclaimed: Giuseppe Sarti (1729–1802), Luigi Sabbatini (1732–1809) and, most importantly, the mentioned Padre Stanislao Mattei, who was Martini's successor from 1776. As a professor of counterpoint in Bologna, Padre Mattei continued a school from 1812 that trained more than 150 students. These teachings were the foundation of musical skills for generations of musicians who developed solid reference points from these methods, a fact testified within numerous instances of correspondence between these musicians and their

[43] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*, pp. 7–15.

[44] More details about the link between Bolognese and Neapolitan traditions which included the *partimento* teaching, are exploited in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, pp. 23-24 and in my following chapter 3.

[45] *Collezionismo e storiografia musicale nel settecento. La quadreria e la biblioteca di padre Martini. Le celebrazioni per il secondo centenario della morte di Padre Giovanni Battista Martini (1706–1784)* promosse dal Conservatorio di Musica di Bologna, Bologna, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1984. See also: Piero Mioli, *Padre Martini. Musicista e musicografo da Bologna all' Europa (1706–1784*), Lucca, Libreria musicale italiana, 2006.

prestigious teachers.[46] Neapolitan and the complementary Bolognese school were the same parts of a dominant Italian role of pedagogic traditions.

Given the importance and diffusion of this compositional school across Italy, the adjective Neapolitan could also easily mean Italian, as first noticed by Sanguinetti in *The Art of Partimento*. Furthermore, Sanguinetti suggests:

> We might as well speak of a "European" school, since Neapolitan teachers and teaching methods circulated all over Europe; partimenti were used in Paris, Vienna, London, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. In sum, the Neapolitan school had both a local and global dimension: local because its methods originated in Naples, where the tradition was kept alive; and global, because its influence shaped the way music was imagined during the eighteenth century and beyond.[47]

The author observes a crucial point that explains the ubiquity of the Neapolitan patterns in the compositional practice in the nineteenth century, which was a mutual tradition and heritage cutting across musicians such as Brahms, Chopin, Schumann, Čajkovskij and Fauré, as well as Verdi, Ponchielli, Puccini or Giordano. This mutuality in operatic context and language are explored in the following section.

1.2 The Art of *Partimenti*: Masters, Methods and Rules of a Secret Art

Partimento methods were, so to say, a tool for teaching composition. *Partimento* and *solfeggi* were not only well known by every professional musician in Italy, but also throughout the rest of Europe. This section highlights the techniques and strategies used by this school, to develop the understanding of expressive use by composers of the early nineteenth century up until the last great Italian opera composers of the late nineteenth century.

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[46] Letters can be found in: Federico Parisini, *Carteggio inedito del P. Giambattista Martini coi più celebri musicisti del suo tempo*, I, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1888; rist. Forni, 1969; Anne Schnoebelen, "Padre Martini's collection of letters. An overview," *Current Musicology, n. 19*,1975, pp. 81–88; Anne Schnoebelen, "The growth of Padre Martini's library as reflected in his correspondence," *Music and Letters*, LVII, 1976, pp. 379–397; Giuseppe Verdi, *Autobiografia dalle lettere*, Milan, A. Mondadori, 1941.

[47] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento,* p. 31.

Evidence of these rules is contained in manuscript collections, exercises, *zibaldon*i and lessons.[48] In other words, they could take many different names, be present in numerous manuscript sources which circulated in the music institutions, and above all, in the conservatoires of Naples, or alternatively, have been shared verbally between teachers and students. These collections took the form of a handbook – short manuals for the training and teaching of *solfeggi* in order to move from the implementation of exercises up to free composition, showing a path of functional studies and the acquisition of the skills required:

> For the musical apprentice in Naples, learning the rudiments of scales, intervals and small melodic figures was the first step. […]. But what apprentice musicians learned were brie contrapuntal combinations associated with routine musical gestures. The first of these were standard cadences. Then a boy might learn the figured-bass harmonization of ascending and descending scales (the Rule of the Octave), the treatment of the most common dissonances, the patterns in which accidentals case modulations, and a variety of standard sequence. All of these preliminary, small patterns were covered in the "rules" or Regole of the Neapolitan maestros. The boys memorized these patterns either by rote or from manuscripts of their master's regole.[49]

This quotation by Gjerdingen[50] can finally introduce the definition of the term *partimento* and its rules. *Partimento* is a notational device, a 'sketch, written on a

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[48] It is impossible here to mention all *partimenti* sources, without even considering the *solfeggi* manuscripts.
For a list of sources, see the bibliography. Here, I would like to mention some examples of Regole, which were well known by opera composers of that time: Francesco Durante, *Regole e partimenti numerati e diminuiti Del Sig. Francesco Durante Pe uso di me Agostino Fontana copiati nel 1801*, I-Ria Misc. Mss. Vess 283, 1801; Gaetano Greco, *Partimenti di Geco Gaetano*, I-Nc MS 33.2.9; Leonardo Leo, *Partimenti e Toccate + 2 Minué per Cembalo del Signore Leonardo Leo*, I-Nc MS 5146; Emanuele Imbimbo, *Seguito de' partimenti ossia esercizio d'Armonia Vocale e Istrumentale Sopra i Bassi Fugati Composto da E.Imbimbo ed al Sig.r Fedele Fenaoli Rispettosamente Dedicato / Suite des Partimenti ou exercise d'harmonie vocale et instrumentale sur les Basses Fugati Composè par E. Imbimbo et Dedié avec Respect a Monsieur Fedele Fenaroli, Chez carli editeur et M.d. De Musique*, Place et Péristyle des Italiens, Paris n.ed. 536; Carlo Cotumacci, *Disposizioni a tre, e quattro parti, ossiano partimenti*, I-Mc Noseda E.66.16; Domenico Cimarosa, *Partimenti di Domenico Cimarosa per violino*, I-MOe MS Gamma.L.9.26; Saverio Mercadante, *Disposizione a 4 voci di un Basso di Durante*, I-Mc Noseda M 16-15; Giovanni Paisiello, *Regole per bene accompagnare il partimento o sia il basso fondamentale sopra il Cembalo*, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven, 2008.

[49] And it was not until the twenty-first century that these rules were first described by Giorgio Sanguinetti (2009–2012)

[50] Robert O. Gjerdingen, *The Perfection of Craft Training in the Neapolitan Conservatories*, pp. 35–36.

single staff, whose main purpose is to be a guide from improvisation of a composition at the keyboard'.[51]Still, in the late nineteenth century,[52] *partimenti* could be figured or unfigured and were used for developing skills in the art of improvisation or accompaniment. *Partimenti* were also the foundation for counterpoint and the conservative and old-fashioned art of diminution. This pedagogical system seems to have its origins in the practice of the *basso continuo* during the seventeenth century and was mainly used for sacred music and organ improvisations.

It should be noted that students required a long and thorough training for several years. The art of *componere* (to compose) was considered a fundamental element of their training, and this *ars combinatoria* was based on the rules of *cum-ponere*, the Latin word to define the composition of art. In other words, originality was not an essential requirement for composers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[53]
The meaning of counterpoint during the eighteenth and nineteenth century has been summarized by Peter van Tour:

> By "counterpoint" I mean the process of conceiving independent melodic progressions according to principles fixed beforehand, both written and improvised, in two or more parts, freely or against pre-existing material, such as a "cantus firmus", "a soggetto cavato", a "partimento" bass, a melody, the hexachordal scale, etc.[54]

Counterpoint was a fascinating union of theory and practice and it has a predominat role in the musical composition teaching. Musicians did not know until now the division between theory and exercise, which characterise the twentieth-century studies. This definition clearly suggests that counterpoint was conceived as the primary step to learn music. The elements of *stile antico* – such as fauxbordon,

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[51] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 14.
[52] See chapter 5 regarding *Partimenti* written by Umberto Giordano as a precious evidence of this legacy.
[53] In the eighteenth century, *partimento* schemes were an integral part of every composition of that period. My research intends to demonstrate that in the following century, the late part of the nineteenth century, when composers were apparently far away from the golden age of eighteenth century, the *partimento* tradition, these schemes were used as *topoi*, as well-known patterns perfectly integrated in the dramaturgical context of operatic works.
[54] Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento, Methods of Teaching Composition in Eighteenth Century Naples*, p. 19.

hexachordal patterns and compositional schemata – are evident from sacred works[55] and were influenced by modes and ecclesiastic styles. They were vital components during both the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[56]The combined effect of the role of counterpoint and the *stile antico* directly influenced and led to the development of the pedagogical methods of the Bolognese and Neapolitan schools.

The following chapters will offer analytical examples as evidence to support the idea of legacy within the described tradition. Although I will show chordal reductions from the original sources, the analyses will also consider contrapuntal patterns from sacred styles, conservative old-fashioned traditions, *partimento* patterns and eighteenth-century schemata, and not the harmonic chords themselves, according to the modern concept of the study of 'harmony', which divided the practice of counterpoint and the study of harmony following the French and German influences that start to be an essential part for a musician's training.[57] The Neapolitan counterpoint prescribed the function of intervals, the nature of specific melodic phenomenon. The term *armonia* was unknown to the Neapolitan masters as the specific study of chords.

This brief section recalls the historical context and the fundamental teaching of at least two centuries of the history of music. A closer look at some of the specific rules is necessary to explore the legacy of this practice for the last nineteenth-century opera composers. According to the Neapolitan system, the study of elementary counterpoint began first with cadences. The elementary lessons proceeded with a further elaboration of these cadences with the art of diminution, increasing complexity in both the upper voices or in the bass lines. Using this method to learn counterpoint was exactly the

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[55] A significant contribution is a collection of studies recently published: *Studies in Historical Improvisation. From Cantare super Librum to Partimenti*, edited by Massimiliano Guido, London and New York, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2017.

[56] The significant influence of sacred music and *stile antico* until the late nineteenth-century operatic works is investigated in the following chapters. However, this dissertation will not discuss the role of sacred music and the influence of *musica antica* regarding the early and the late nineteenth-century Italy. Much remains to be discovered, and research is still being undertaken. New areas of investigations, such as *solfeggi* theory and practice, might help music theorists to better evaluate the role of the sacred works and their influences for every kind of genre, including opera, which is clearly suggested by the analysis of even operatic scores. Chapters 5 and 6 will consider some examples of conservative and ecclesiastic contrapuntal patterns on operatic composers at the end of the century.
It is not clear yet if the *solfeggi* methods, according to the Neapolitan rules and not following the modern use of *solfeggiare*, might have been important as they were in the past. What is clear is that counterpoint and *partimenti* scheme still had a profitable coexistence with the ecclesiastic style and the *musica antica* recalls, as shown in my analytical research.

[57] Baragwanath, *The Italian traditions & Puccini*, pp. I–XX.

same even at the end of the nineteenth century, as documents analysed in the following chapters can prove.[58] Afterwards, the same elaboration was applied to scales and *moti del basso* (bass motions).

Once the lessons in elementary counterpoint were finished, students needed to write *imitazioni* (imitations) as the crucial first step to practice fugues. Chapter 5 shows a reproduction of Umberto Giordano's *Imitazioni,* which belongs to the late nineteenth-century sources. This very rare evidence clearly showed the long and heavy influence of this tradition, which was maintained even decades after the end of the eighteenth century.[59] The student's hard work on couterpoint eventually culminated with the fugue.

This curriculum was essentially the same from the eighteenth to the late eighteenth century, as we will observe in more detail throughout the next chapters. A closer observation of the *partimento* rules is necessary to understand this fascinating legacy for future generations of opera composers.

1.3 The *Partimenti* and the Elementary Lessons for Beginners

Having discussed the Bolognese school, and in particular Naples, in broader contexts, we can now closely observe the main instrument of this conservative pedagogic system. We have already articulated the definition of *partimento* but one more aspect is relevant and fascinating, and that is concerned with its function in the study of composition:

> A "*partimento*" is only potentially music. Its implications need to be unfolded in order for it to become a full-fledged composition. Every aspect of the final music can be contained, or hinted at, in a "*partimento*": tonal direction, modulations, harmony, diminutions, imitations, texture, style, and genre.[60]

[58] See Cilea and Giordano's sources in Chapters 4 and 5.
[59] Sanguinetti, "Decline and Fall of the 'Celeste Impero': The Theory of Composition in Naples during the Ottocento," *in Studi Musicali» XXXIV*, 2005/2, pp. 451–502.
[60] Giorgio Sanguinetti, "The Realization of 'partimenti'. An Introduction", in *Journal of Music Theory, 51/1,* 2007, pp. 51–83. The quote can be found in pp. 51–52.

If the thoroughbass allowed a wonderful mastery of keyboard and accompaniment, *partimento* patterns were already a deep and powerful scheme for composition itself. An example, well-known to all musicians in the nineteenth century and continuously in print from 1775 to the first half of the twentieth century, is Fenaroli's *Regole*.[61] Several editions of this revered treatise testify to the importance of the source of *partimenti* during the nineteenth century. Specifically, Fenaroli's rules present a useful example of how *partimenti* were taught in Italy.

The Fenaroli *Regole* are divided into six books, arranged in increasing level of difficulty for students. In the first book, the Scales are presented, namely the Rule of the Octave (which will be referred to in more detail in the following paragraphs), in all three positions, and in the major and minor modes. Following this, there are the three cadences: simple, compound and double, followed by 16 progressive *partimenti* to help study basic voice leading, along with the practice of the Rule of the Octave and cadences. The second book is dedicated to suspensions, whilst the third book explains the rules of the bass motions. The analysis of the *moti del basso* allowed the musicians to decipher the unfigured *partimenti* and elaborate the schemes studied in earlier books. In other words, following the order of the rules indicated by Sanguinetti,[62] we can summarize the fundamental study of the following elements:

Cadences (*Cadenze*),
Rule of the Octave (*Regola dell'Ottava or RdO*),
Suspensions (*Dissonanze*),
Bass motions (*Moti del basso*), and
Scale mutations (*Terminazioni di tono*).

The final parts are dedicated to the Imitations, canons and the study of the fugues and *partimenti ricercati*.

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[61] Fedele Fenaroli, *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo*, Naples, Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1775; *Partimenti: regole musicali per quelli che vogliono suonare coi numeri e per i principianti di contrappunto,* Milan, Sonzogno, 1883. See also: "Il Gradus ad Parnassum di Fedele Fenaroli", in *Fedele Fenaroli, il didatta e il compositore,* Gianfranco Miscia (edited by), LIM Lucca, 2010, pp. 209–224; *L'Eredità di Fenaroli nell'Ottocento*, in *Giuseppe Martucci e la caduta delle Alp*i, Antonio Caroccia, Paologiovanni Maione, Francesca Seller (edited by), Lucca, LIM, 2008.

[62] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 100

Following a detailed analysis of nineteenth-century opera composers such as Bellini, Verdi or Catalani, it might be a surprise to discover a mutual concept among them, namely, using elementary counterpoint lessons such as cadence exercises as a sort of musical foundation to arias, duets or even choral sections. One would imagine that these composers had access to a large body of musical knowledge, patterns and possibilities, after years and years of study and practice. The decision to use a tool of tonal coherence, such as cadences, could have been a legacy of their training based on these pedagogical traditions or a specific choice. One aspect, in fact, was an essential part in the *partimento* procedures and teaching: the tonal coherence; it will be observed in the theoretical and pedagogic teaching at the end of the nineteenth century also.

This chapter will be limited to defining the cadences according to the Neapolitan school counterpoint, before attempting to provide an understanding of their function and effects in the later chapters. I have described the above cadences according to the Neapolitan voice leading. In fact, a modern reader might be surprised to realise that conceived cadences are nothing more than the usual function of the closing formula of a musical phrase. According to the *partimento* tradition, cadences were believed to be of primary importance in the foundation of lessons for all tonal structures. As Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate, both Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano began to learn counterpoint following the basic elementary *cadenze,* elaborating each exercise with written diminutions:

> Concerning the harmonic degrees involved in cadences, all sources agree that they are only I and V: introduction of a pre-dominant scale degree, such as IV, or II6, within the cadence proper leads to a kind of cadence called by some authors "accadenza" or "cadenza lunga" ("long cadence", a concept close to the modern idea of cadential progression.[63]

[63] Ibidem, p. 105

Figure 1 shows the classification by Sanguinetti of cadences. They are classified in three types, which are simple, compound and double.

Figure 1. Partimento cadences: simple, double, compound



Compound cadences use a 4-3 suspension, as shown in the figure, whilst the double cadences use a 3/5, 4/6, 4/5 and 3/5 above the V. All cadences and their names and systematisation are explored in Sanguinetti's *The Art of Partimento*.[64]

[64] Ibidem, pp. 105–112.

Here, I mention only the elementary function, which will be recalled during my analysis of the legacy of the *Giovane Scuola*.

If the Bolognese school honoured *cantus firmus* as an instrument to learn counterpoint,[65] the Neapolitan methods associated each scale degree with a specific set of chords, resulting in a distinct association with each sonority of the scale itself. All studies confirm that the Rule of the Octave (RdO) is a powerful instrument of tonal coherence, choosing and determining a specific chord for each scale degree without any chance of ambiguity.

The connection between the RdO and the cadences, such as the simple cadence, is very strict. In other words, the RdO is an expansion of the elementary cadence structure, with an opening tonic, dominant tonic and closing tonic. Sources provide different versions, which are similar, but not identical, when compared to the RdO.[66] During the nineteenth century, particularly in Italy and nevertheless for opera composers, Fenaroli's standard version became the favourite harmonised scale. Obviously, the RdO became part of every opera composer's training but it could have been used as a segment or even *topo*i for specific musical context. Figure 2[67] shows Fenaroli's version of the RdO in both ascending and descending steps.

[65] The mentioned work of Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento* (2015), suggests specific differences between the Bolognese and Neapolitan aspects. Moreover, he investigates all specific teachings following the distinction between the school of Leo and Durante.
[66] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 123.
[67] This example is taken from the modern printing of Fenaroli's rule in Giorgio Sanguinetti, *La scala come modello per la composizione*, pp. 72–73.

Figure 2 (a). Rule of the Octave, (Fenaroli)



Figure 2 (b).



Fedele Fenaroli clearly explained the rationale behind learning the RdO. It was, in fact, a strategy to learn how to practice counterpoint using this rule, one which was well known to all musicians and familiar to the audience in theatres:

> Those who want to learn quickly to play fluently with the figures must study fervently the scales in all keys, and in all three positions.[68]

It should be noted that the Fenaroli version has a specific function.

It is of fundamental importance to draw attention to these pillars in order to accurately connect the 'use by composers' to this archetypal pattern. As we shall see in later chapters, the RdO will not only be an integral part of all of the late nineteenth-century composers' studies, but it could also be used as a technique to start the contrapuntal elements.

The third element of *partimento* theory was the use of suspensions, conceived in terms of the consonance-dissonance distinction. This aspect is not examined in this chapter because it will not be of particular relevance to the following chapters. Late nineteenth-century composers such as Catalani and Cilea lived in a period where this aspect was conceived according to the nineteenth-century harmony. The use of suspensions and dissonance is perhaps the only feature that did not belong anymore to the second part of the nineteenth century compositional practice.[69]

As already described in this chapter, a significant axiom of Neapolitan *partimento* theory was devoted to the *movimenti del basso* (bass motions). These *moti* or *andamenti del basso* constitute movements in the bass line with a series of specific regular intervals. In other words, these motions represented alternative techniques to accompany scales, solutions which were basically complementary to the sequential technique. Some models were transported above every scale degree, and this technique was an essential method of *partimenti* theory. The function of these guidelines was an ingenious system for the musicians who needed to identify an unfigured bass and

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[68] Ibidem, p.116.

[69] David W Bernestein, "Nineteenth-century harmonic theory: the Austro-German legacy", in *The Cambridge History of Wester Music Theory*, pp. 778–811.

choose which chord to give to the bass line, when the scale could not take advantage of the RdO. The other fascinating aspect of bass motions was the ability of the student to set compositional schemes to elaborate, as an integrative part of their studies. As a result of this training, together with years of practice spent at the conservatoires learning these rules, professional composers used these schemes for free compositions, as the masterpieces written by opera composers clearly demonstrate.

At this point, it should be noted that the Gjerdingen's schemata are based on *partimenti* traditions – specifically, a deep study of contrapuntal patterns and bass motions used during the eighteenth century. Gjerdingen, in his work *Music in the Galant style*, provides a complete list of schemata.[70] In his terminology, which I will often refer to in the following chapters, the term schema is as follows:

> [...] defined as a mental structure which is based on past experience (memory) and serves as an interpretative text. [...]. Perhaps not too surprisingly, both in German theories of Satzmodelle, and in "schemata theory", the use of partimenti has been highlighted as providing a concrete historical example of how models and clichés were introduced and used in music education.[71]

These schemata are identified in countless sources of eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts and printed editions,[72] and each source displays the regular series of conjunct and disjunct motions. This chapter will not aim to describe the copious and rich *exampla* of bass motions.[73] Specific sequential patterns will demonstrate how they could have been utilised by opera composers of the nineteenth-century Italy, such as Verdi or the later opera composers' generations, as a direct result of the importance placed upon them during this training. One of the most frequently practiced bass

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[70] Gjerdingen sums up his work about the galant schemata and *partimento* tradition: '[...] I summarise the result of several such inquiries so that the reader can develop a broad view of the repertory of important galant phrase schemata. Many of the following chapters are devoted to individual schemata. They present numerous musical examples – examplars – that allow the reader to explore variants and stylistic changes typical of different decades and courts. [...] The overriding theory behind my presentation of these schemata is that they formed one of the cores of a galant musician's 'zibaldone', from *Music in the Galant Style*, p. 15.

[71] Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento. Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*, p. 17.

[72] A list of primary sources is provided at the end of this dissertation. Just to mention an example, Fedele Fenaroli describes these schemes in the third book of his *Partimenti*.

[73] See Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, pp. 135–165.

motions, used by all eighteenth and nineteenth century composers, was defined by Robert Gjerdigen as a Romanesca.[74] He describes the use of this bass motion during the eighteenth century[75]:

> As its name implies, the Romanesca has an Italian provenance (as do most galant schemata). It was first widely noticed and named by musicians in the sixteenth century, and during the seventeenth century, it reigned as one of the most common ground basses. [...] Partimento manuscripts in Naples may have been the first texts to treat scale degrees as an organizing principle and point of departure. [...][76] The Romanesca was used primarily as an opening gambit. Its period of greatest currency was the 1720s and 1730s, though it remained an option throughout the century. As the first schemata for an Adagio, the galant Romanesca was so common as to be almost cliché during the first half of the century. [...][77]

This bass motion is presented as a bass, falling by fourth and rising by step, counterpointed by a descending scale in the melody, as seen in Tritto and Mattei's examples. Fenaroli considers this pattern as 'essential' because, as Sanguinetti describes, the bass notes of each model are the first and fifth of the key. The basic version has only triads but the Romanesca pattern can have variants, summarized as *stepwise variant* (based on the descending scale), *leaping variant* with an alteration of

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[74] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Styl*e, pp. 26–43.

[75] Gjerdingen points out that: George Friederic Handel (1685–1759) served as music tutor and hence maestro to Anne, daughter of George II, from 1724 until her marriage in 1734. Handel's teaching methods were based on *partimenti* and some of these precious exercises have been preserved. The book *Continuo Playing according to Handel. His figured bass exercises* is an excellent source as evidence of the Italian *partimento* tradition's influence on Handel and composers of his time. The work has a commentary by David Ledbetter, edited by Oxford University Press, 1990. A significant study on Handel and his training is described by Alfred Mann, *The Great Composer as Teacher and Student. Theory and Practice of Composition*, New York, Dover Editions, 1994. Although this study does not consider the influence of Italian traditions, due its publications in years still far from *partimento*'s researches, it contains several sketches from Handel, Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven's studies and Schubert, studies which suggest a very close approach to the Italian traditions. A deep and outstanding study on Bach and the influence of *partimento* can be found in Vasili Byros, "Prelude on a Partimento, Invention in the Compositional Pedagogy of the German States in the Time of J.S. Bach," in Journal of the Society for Music Theory, Vol. 21, Number 3, 2015. This study examines compositional and pedagogical uses of the Langloz manuscript, a collection of German *partimenti* during the time of J.S. Bach. The article is available on the following website: http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.15.21.3/mto.15.21.3.byros.html. The Langloz manuscript was published in a critical edition edited by William Renwick, *The Langloz Manuscript. Fugal Improvisation through Figured Bass*, Oxford, Oxford Early Music Series, 2001.

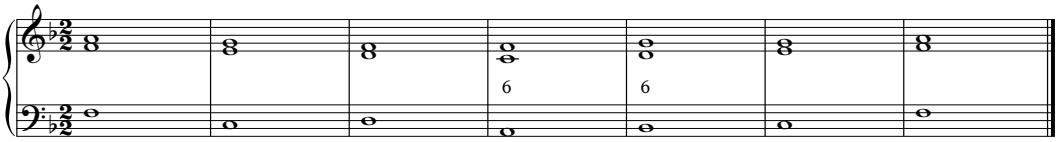
[76] Ibidem, p. 28.

[77] Ibidem, p. 454

5/3 and 6/3 chords, and the *galant norm,* with an alteration of the 6/3 chord, as described by Gjerdingen.[78]

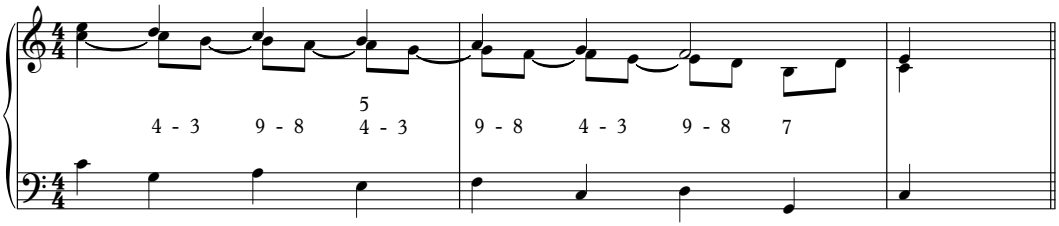
Below, I have excerpted examples of this bass motion from Giacomo Tritto (1773–1824), one of the most important counterpoint teachers of his time.[79] (Figure 3)

Figure 3. Giacomo Tritto, Romanesca bass from a *partimento* in F major, (1810–20)[80]



The following *partimento* from Mattei[81] shows a realisation of this bass motion with two additional parts (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Mattei, Partimento in C Major, (ca 1780)

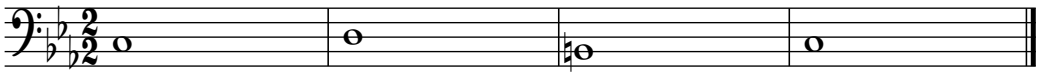


A third bass motion, which became a patchwork during the opera composers' student years, is the bass rising by step and falling by third. This bass motion allows for several options to accompany three or four voices.[82] A segment of this *moto del basso* is described by Gjerdingen as one more *partimento* scheme often used in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

[78] Ibidem, p. 29
[79] Ibidem, p. 26
[80] From examples 3 to 5, I used the examples quoted in Gjerdinjen, chapters 2, 3 and 4.
[81] The example is taken from Gjerdinjeng, p. 26.
[82] The example is taken from Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 150.

As will be asserted in the following chapters, opera composers bestowed a significant amount of importance on this pattern. Figure 5 shows a segment of this bass motion, described by Gjerdineng as the Meyer.[83]

Figure 5. Meyer pattern



The bass motion segment has been introduced by Giacomo Tritto in his *Scuola di Contrappunto* and this schema became very common for all *partimentisti*, *continuisti* and all other categories of musicians, regardless of their specialisation. The *ars combinatoria* of this axiom included a bass rising by step and falling by a third, falling by step and rising by a third, rising by a fourth and falling by a third, or rising by a fourth and falling by a fifth. A further example is the motion rising by a fifth and falling by a fourth, rising by a sixth and falling by a fifth, rising by a seventh and falling by an octave.

Before this chapter is concluded, after providing the historical and methodological context of the pillars of these old conservative and extraordinary compositional practice, I should recall that the study of bass motions, as mentioned above, could also include conjunct motions, such as the simplest scheme to accompany an ascending scale, which was the ascending 5-6, as described by several *partimenti* sources for at least two centuries.[84]

Partimento literature discusses the origin of this schema, which might have existed even before the RdO. Once again, the author of this *partimenti* research points out the description of this diatonic conjunct motion:

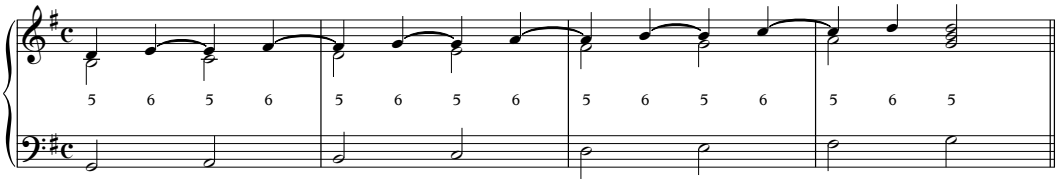
> In partimento rules, it is often referred to as the "other manner" (altra maniera, the main maniera being obviously the RO). As in the most (if not all) bass motions, the

[83] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, p. 111.
[84] A list of sources which described all partimento rules as manuscript and autograph evidences are listed in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, pp. 347-354.

> ascending 5-6 consists of a primary pattern that is fixed and cannot be changed, and several secondary patterns that may be added to the primary and fibe rise to the variants. The primary pattern is very simple, with every bass note accompanied by a fifth that moves to a sixth; on the following note of the bass, the sixth becomes a fifth again, and the pattern repeats itself until the end of the scalar motion. The third voice moves in parallel motions with the bass in thirds or tenths.[85]

Figure 6 shows the 5-6 ascending, a pattern which will be very familiar even at the beginning of the twentieth century, despite the influences of modern harmonic theories regarding compositional teaching.[86]

Figure 6. 5-6 ascending motion



More diatonic conjunct motions include the ascending 8/7-6, one more widely used system to accompany an ascending scale as well as the ascending 10 ͡9-8.

For a variation of *romanesca*, the descending 5-6 might be considered, as shown in Figure 7. I would be inclined for this variation of *romanesca*[87] to alternate triads and sixth chords, rather than using all root-position triads:

> With respect to the ascending 5-6, there is a substantial difference. Whereas the ascending 5-6 exchanges the fifth and the sixth on every bass note, its descending version places the two intervals on two successive bass notes. In doing so, the descending 5-6 subdivides the descending scalar motion into segments of two notes. [...] The two positions (with the fifth in the top voice), the melody is stationary, skipping down a third every second note of the bass. When the third is in the soprano

[85] This example is described in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, pp.136-137

[86] The use of this technique was an essential part of *Giovane Scuola*'s training as well as many other opera composers in the second part of the nineteenth century. Chapter 4, 5 and 6 will make clear the use of these schemes as cliché' or characteristic *topos* learnt during his studies.

[87] See examples with analytical reduction from Alfredo Catalani's operatic works and the strings quartet, in Chapter 4. One more example of this variation of Romanesca is shown in Chapter 5.

(second position), the melody accompanies the bass in smooth parallel tenth. [The following example] shows an interposition of 6/4/2 chord (with an augmented fourth) between the triad and the sixth chord; the tonicization of the second element emphasizes the two-note pattern subvision. This variant has only one position, with the third in the upper voice.[88]

Figure 7. 5-6 descending motion

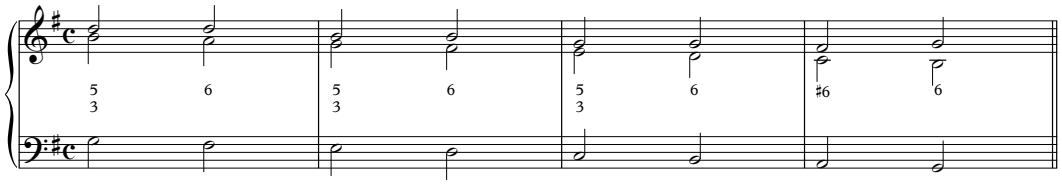
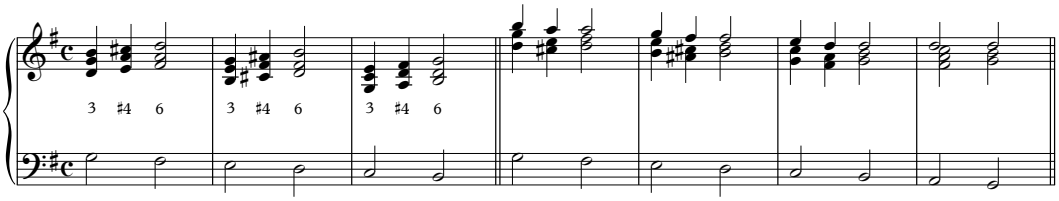


Figure 8 shows Fenaroli's version, where the 6/4/2 chord is approached from below, while the second example clearly shows the approach is from the upper part.

Figure 8. Fenaroli's version of 5-6 motion



A last example of *partimento* pattern, which I would like to include in this chapter, is a melody based on a stepwise descent 6-5-4-3, while the bass line presents a stepwise descent 4-3-2-1. A sequence of chords in 5/3, 6/3 and 5/3 positions define what Gjerdingen calls the Prinner.[89] This author provides several examples from music by Benedetto Marcello (died in 1739), Giovanni Paisiello (1740–1816), Giovanni Boroncini (1670–1747), Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli (1752–1837) and many other musicians.

[88] Sanguinetti, p. 140.
[89] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, pp. 45–60.

Figure 9. Saverio Valente, from a *partimento* in C Major, (1790s)

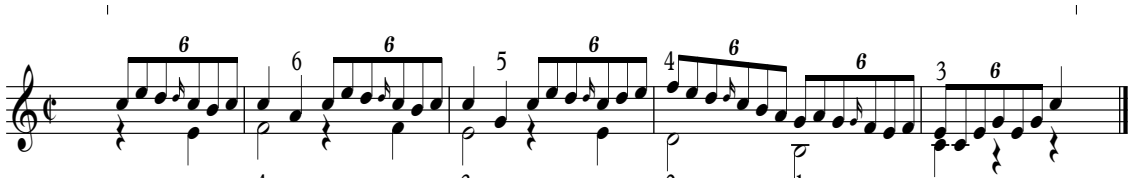


Figure 9 shows a Prinner pattern, based on a *partimento* by Saverio Valente,[90] a musician who was the teacher of Verdi's teacher, Vincenzo Lavigna.[91]

To summarise an earlier point, the combinations of these motions were a sort of *zibaldone*, which the student or the professional musician could use. All these combinations with their metric and rhythmic aspects are not analysed in this work, but only introduced to further explore their importance for the operatic context, which will be analysed in the following chapters.[92]

I have described the *Romanesca* bass, the ascending 5-6 technique, the Meyer contrapuntal scheme and a few other *partimento* patterns in detail, because they were an integral compositional practice, a collection of *topoi*, for opera composers of the nineteenth century, from Vincenzo Bellini to Giacomo Puccini, from Gioacchino Rossino to Alfredo Catalani. Many other combinations can be found in the *partimento*

[90] This example is taken from one of the several Prinner examples described by Gjerdingen, p. 53.
[91] See chapter 3.
[92] Sanguinetti classifies one more class regarding the Scale mutations. The author describes this fifth class of rules and the meaning in the *partimento* use: 'All accompaniment schemata we have hitherto examined depend on the diatonic scale. In other words, they work properly only if one can identify the scale in which the motion takes place, and the degree of the scale from which it begins. A partial exception is a bass pattern, such as the "bass descending by thirds" that is tonally indifferent. However, a piece of music, even the simplest partimento, is hardly confined to a single scale; more often it abandons the scale in which it has begun to enter a new scale. Neapolitan masters called this procedure terminazione di tono or uscita di tono – literally, key ending or key exit – which I translate as scale mutation'. Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 158.
The notion of mutation has affinities with the modern idea of modulation; but, in the Neapolitan theoretical concept, the terminazione di tono (or tuono) is not conceived in terms of wide structural relevant formal units, rather on placing the chords on the bass line, after identifying the scales which the performer might find *hic and nunc*. I mentioned this last rule to have a general overal look at all the *partimento* rules. I did not linger on this particular rule because I will not discuss this specific axiom on Giuseppe Verdi and *Giovane Scuola* composers.
The influence of the late nineteenth-century counterpoint tended to not consider the eighteenth-century concept of terminazione di tono but rather modulating following the nineteenth century rules, which were part of all the opera composers, especially at the end of the century and beginning of twentieth-century Italy.

sources, and all these options were considered powerful tools for free composition for all opera composers.

In this and the following chapters, the research claims that it is not an overstatement to consider these methods as the most significant and functional training that opera composers could have received during their years spent in Naples, Lucca or the other Italian cities. These few examples, together with the brief introduction as I have previously mentioned, serve to provide a historical context, a background to technique and to recall specific rules and sources, with the overall aim to better understand the legacy of these pedagogic traditions in the middle of the nineteenth century and of the late part of the century.

1.4. 'Let us go back to the ancients: it will be a step forward' – Opera composers and *partimento* traditions in the late nineteenth century[93]

This chapter introduces the cultural context and history of *partimenti* traditions with its practice, rules and cases, enabling the reader to better understand the legacy of late nineteenth century opera composers. The first part precedes the actual examination of the cases themselves, later in this thesis, with a brief overview of the theory underpinning this. It does so through a broad reconstruction of what is argued in this work as a significant legacy of the Neapolitan compositional sources, and the consideration that it comprises a strong *trait d'union* between the centuries and therefore a very relevant component of operatic life in the nineteenth-century Italian opera context. Having summarily described the guidelines of pedagogical traditions related to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, this second part of the chapter now intends to highlight an aspect, which, the literature dedicated to these traditions, has not been considered in a profound way.

Many scholars suggest that the tradition of the Neapolitan school has declined and lost its relevance in the musical teachings of the late nineteenth century. They claim that echoes of this tradition are merely a nostalgic attempt to preserve it but without the

[93] Verdi's quote is mentioned in Pierre Petit, *Verdi*, London, John Calder LTD, 1962, p.131.

decisive centrality it had held in the previous century. They state that the influences of the German and French schools are the main prelude to study the composition in the late nineteenth century Italy. In fact, Sanguinetti argues that:

> The decline of *partimento* – and of all compositional school based on its axioms – started to happen in the first part of the nineteenth century with the development in the first part of the nineteenth century with the difficult affirmation in the European countries of the new harmonic theory born in France with the Enlightenment.[94]

One of the elements that contributed to the decline of this school was the separation of theory and practice in the study of nineteenth-century composers, which I will discuss later. However, this tradition, although varied and naturally influenced by contemporary musical theories, was not dead, but alive and still present, in the training curriculum of the operatives of the second half of the nineteenth century. If Verdi preserved this tradition almost in its entirety and was the point of union for the successive generations that looked to the master as a reference, the *Giovane Scuola* composers still saw the last dawn of a tradition never forgotten. In support of this thesis, the research documents and the evident musical influences in their works bear witness to a *continuum* that went out with the latest Italian operatic tradition.

Relevant scholars have mostly focused their research on *partimento* traditions in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century when it was essential for the compositional practice of Italian operatic composers. Studies such as *Counterpoint and Partimento* by Peter van Tour or Gjerdingen's *Music in the Galant Style* focused on compositional processes through the study of materials such as sketches and *partimento* sources focusing on deep analysis of eighteenth century works. Rosa Cafiero,[95] Ludwig

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[94] Giorgio Sanguinetti, *Intersezioni*, p. 139. This is my own translation.

[95] Rosa Cafiero, "Conservatories and the Neapolitan School, a European model at the end of the Eighteenth century, Musical Education in Europe (1770–19149", in *Compositional, Institutional and Political Challenges*, Berlin, edited by M. Fend and M. Noiray, Berliner Wissenschaft Verlag, 2005, pp.15–29.

Holtemeier,[96] Thomas Christensen[97] and Jesse Rosenberg[98] began investigating the historical origins and development of the Neapolitan traditions and schools during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. By doing so, they managed to mention the gradual fading of Neapolitan and Bolognese traditions during the nineteenth century, without raising any further discussions in their studies. Sanguinetti has provided the essential guide and basis for a complete study of *partimento* practice and its historical context, which spans at least from the end of the seventeenth century until the early nineteenth century. Yet the work does not deeply investigate the changes to the *partimento* traditions at the turn of the century. Finally, Gaetano Stella, in *Partimenti in the Age of Romanticism: Raimondi, Platania and Bocheron,*[99] observes the teaching of musical composition in Italy, considering the echoes of the teachings of important theorists such as Raimondi and Platania during the nineteenth century. Yet, he does not reveal extensive details of these legacies in the musical expression at that time.

Apart from the research by Baragwanath addressing the musical language of Giacomo Puccini and bringing to light the nineteenth-century theoretical traditions of *solfeggi*, there is a clear paucity in musicological research literature dedicated to what happened in the *partimento* traditions in the late nineteenth century and the connection between operatic musicians and their training in that period. However, Baragwanath's work only partially covers this gap, not considering surviving primary autograph sources, considering a case study with just one musician among the *Giovane Scuola* composers, Puccini, who alone cannot represent the *fulcrum* of the Italian traditions.

One reason for this apparent reluctance to engage with the musical traditions in question may be explained by an attitude, which dismisses the *partimento* tradition

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[96] Ludwig Holtmeier, Heinichen "Rameau and the Italian Throughbass Tradition. Concepts of Tonality and Chord in the Rule of the Octave", in *Journal of Music Theory*, Vol. 51, No.1, 2007, pp. 5-49.

[97] Thomas Christensen, *Fétis and the Tonal Imaginatio: Discourses of Tonality in Nineteenth-Century France*, Chicago University Press, (in progress).
[98] Jesse Rosenberg, "Il 'leista' Raimondi contro il 'durantista' Bellini," in *Francesco Florimo e l'Ottocento musicale*, Reggio Calabria, Ed. Rosa Cafiero and Marina Marino,1990, pp. 75–98.
[99] Gaetano Stella, "Partimenti in the Age of Romanticism: Raimondi, Platania and Boucheron," in *Journal of Music Theory* 51/1, 2007, pp.161–86.

recklessly, owing to its lost 'perfect union' between theory and practice in the previous century. In the eighteenth century and for fifty years hence, students learned to compose in the same way they would compose once they became professional musicians. Studies observe that this perfect union declining the modern *armonia* became the new pedagogic approach and the through bass has disappeared from the conservatory curriculum studies.

The shortcoming was that the new theories proposed for the study of the late nineteenth century compositional practice not only did not fill the gaps ostensibly left by the Neapolitan school, but the musical praxis denied such solutions. In other words, the contemporary musical works did not show a close connection with the rules prescribed by the contemporary treatises regarding new harmonic French and German influences. The proliferation of new studies, with new theoretical form, 'rhetorical' praxis, and the modern study of harmony involving chords and their construction with chord progressions and the 'vertical' aspect of the music, contributed to the diminishing dominance of the Neapolitan and Bolognese schools.[100]

The relationship between theory and practice consolidated the will to modernise traditional teaching and furthered the incursion of foreign influences who saw the largely orally conveyed *partimento* traditions as old-fashioned praxis. Nevertheless, if the Neapolitan and Bolognese oral transmission of musical knowledge had declined as testified by the notebooks of Verdi's teacher, Vincenzo Lavigna, the *partimento'*s role was still influential as testified in two important musical centres, Lucca in Tuscany and Naples. They chose not to adopt an approach where *partimento* and counterpoint were a mere application of scientific harmony, but to keep them vital and transmit them to the fledgling composers of the time. Both Lucca and Naples had conservative musical institutions regarding transmission of teaching, the first because of the strong heritage and close affiliation with ecclesiastic expression, and the second because of its predominant role in composition teaching nationally.

[100] An excellent study, which analyses the theoretical works from the half of the nineteenth century to the first part of the twentieth century, has been written by Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Un secolo di teoria della musica in Italia. Bibliografia critica (1850–1950)", in *Fonti musicali italiane,* II, 1997, pp.155–248.

Fortunately, *Giovane Scuola* notebooks, such as counterpoint studies and fugues, which realised *partimenti,* remain sufficiently preserved to provide answers to questions posed in this introductory chapter. The study training of these operatic composers, not only highlights how they could become composers and use the legacy in their operatic works, but also demonstrates that the musical reforms, although derived by progressive, modern and foreign theoretical studies in Italy, did not at all nullify the existing conservative foundations. The question to pose, therefore, is what exactly remained. In fact, *partimento* traditions did not entirely perish, but continued to occupy an essential position in the training of Italian operatic composers. The new aesthetic regime certainly influenced them, but such shifting sands were simply reflected in the *partimento* patterns, as well as other *musica antica* schemes such as the legacy of the through bass or ecclesiastic recalls used.

Nineteenth-century operatic composers, as well as musicians producing other musical genres, were trained to realise *partimenti* in written form. The aspects of compositional training would also include other forms such as strict counterpoint, the study of *disposizioni* and *imitazioni* or the realisations of fugues, which still had significant roles in the operatic composers of the time. By the end of the century, *partimento* training had become a written practice, still an important pedagogic instrument, very alive and deeply influential in the musical works of the late operatic composers. Furthermore, masters such as Mattei, Sala or Zingarelli, as well as textbooks such as Fedele Fenaroli's *Partimenti,* remained the preeminent sources in the Italian conservatories such as Lucca or Naples.

Moreover, another aspect to observe that was crucial at the turn of the century to share light on the music theory of the time, is revealed in Stella's work *Partimenti in the Age of Romanticism*:

> Counterpoint lost its status in music pedagogy in favour of harmony, which took on the aura of a quasi-scientific discipline.[101]

[101] Stella, *Partimenti in the Age of Romanticism,* p. 262.

This scholar alongside other relevant studies observed something, which is partially true. Although the Italian compositional theories began to be deeply influenced by German Romanticism and transalpine pedagogic practices, the Italian operatic composers and their masters still considered the role of counterpoint in its Neapolitan meaning. This was that it was not contaminated by a restricted and infertile sense of connecting chords and melodic voice leading together with the modern harmonic idea of the 'vertical' study of the harmonic chords. Further, it was primarily said to represent the significant function of student training to learn how to compose, and thus retained a dominant role.

The analysed rare documents in this research clearly show the dominant role of counterpoint in their training without any traces of harmonic exercises in their studies. The Fuxian contrapuntal species represent the base of early *Giovane Scuola* studies without harmonic novelties introduced by transalpine 'modern' theories and musical innovations. Moreover, the pedagogy of diminution was hardly abandoned. This art to transform a slow melodic line into a fast-moving and more elaborate line was still part of the strict counterpoint approach and not forgotten in the musical studies of the younger composers.[102]

Another eclipsed aspect of the debated context of the music theory of the last Italian operatic season was the study of the fugue in the Neapolitan influence in the late nineteenth century.

Musicological literature considers late nineteenth-century fugues as a fixed form, following the French pedagogic models or the heavy influence of Bach. Excellent examples of apprenticeship of young students needing practice with fugues at the end of the century are shown in sources by Catalani in Lucca and Cilea and Giordano in Naples. In these sources, we find the stylistic criteria regarding fugues as formal scheme were still considered unknown among late nineteenth-century composers. The fugues analysed in chapter three do not follow the categorisation of the formal scheme according to the 'modern' *exempla* but rather they represent an essential requisite in

[102] This aspect will be explored in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in which *Giovane Scuola* composer's studies highlight the important legacy of the art of diminution in their contrapuntal studies.

the students' training where *partimento* and counterpoint were the essential bases of the fugue as genre.[103] In other words, the study of fugues, *imitazioni*, strict counterpoint and the mentioned art of diminution represented the heritage of traditions considered forgotten. Yet they were indeed still very much alive in the late nineteenth-century context.

Having established the identity of the Neapolitan traditions and the theoretical traditions of the late nineteenth century and its links with the past, this tension between contemporary influences and the heavy presence of the never-forgotten *partimento* traditions includes one more aspect that is worthy of focus: The rediscovery of the *musica antica* in late nineteenth-century musical studies and the recalled ecclesiastic schemes in the operatic works of the last operatic musicians. These are addressed in the following chapter having been introduced earlier, but here we elaborate on what they are comprised of.

Case studies to follow will define and explore the influence of ecclesiastic patterns, old-fashioned and sacred formulas used as *topoi* in an aria or a duet in the operatic works of the *Giovane Scuola* generations. In having to learn them, especially through the Neapolitan school and *partimento* practice strictly connected to the church and the study of sacred historical works,[104] *Giovane Scuola* composers engaged in a fascinating dialogue between past and present. In the eighteenth century, conservatories had produced a great quantity of church music.

Ecclesiastic music was a far more ubiquitous element of individuals' formation that many suppose, right through the centuries. Opera composition was a precarious livelihood and not always successful or lucrative. The market demanded new operas every season and composers had to continuously and laboriously hop among Italian and European cities without losing their creative impulses. For this reason, they tended to aspire to fixed posts as *maestro di cappella* for the most part in ecclesiastic

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[103] See Gaetano Stella, "Le Regole del contrappunto pratico di Nicola Sala: una testimonianza sulla didattica della fuga nel Settecento napoletano", in *Rivista Italiana di Teoria e Analisi,* 2009, pp.116–138.

[104] For a related description of the link between *partimento* training and sacred music, see the above-mentioned Peter van Tour's work *Counterpoint and Partimento, Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples, 2015*.

institutions, or as a teacher in such institutions as the state *conservatori*. Although these kinds of jobs were always paid less than the job of an operatic composition, the musicians would enjoy greater chances of long-term financial security, with even some benefits like supplementary payments if the service was impressive. Despite many Italian composers, through to the early twentieth century, being increasingly exclusively confined to operatic genre where it adequately paid, the curricula of their apprenticeships were still not significantly distinct from the study within ecclesiastic institutions. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, an operatic composer may still have begun his career as a *maestro di cappella* or organist, postponing his operatic career for later in life. Catalani, Puccini, Giordano, Mascagni and Cilea's success in honing all their creative energies on opera, was all preceded by training, which included the study of sacred ancient works. Especially, Lucca and Naples were very conservative in this sense. Their conservatories retained a close affiliation with church services by the end of the century. Such conservativism helped us to grasp an often-unexpected chronology in the following chapters, which confronts the assumption that late nineteenth-century music theory and research must relate deeply to the landmark compositional praxis of its own time. It did not.

The importance of pedagogy studying *musica antica* or the sacred works of the past and treatises on *cantus firmus* such as Pietro Alfieri (1857) is reflected in why the *Giovane Scuola* composers chose, amongst other compositional skills, to use this pre-existing material, such as a *cantus firmus*, a *partimento* bass, an hexachordal scale or a recall to faux-bourdon in their arias. The references to ecclesiastic modality in sacred music, where present, were chosen by the composer as 'colour' – or a *tinta* – within a dramaturgical context.[105] They were moments in which the *topos* could agree with such musical recalls or atmosphere. The presence of these recalls could not be a mere coincidence.

Above, we delved into certain specific details of the relationship between the *Giovane Scuola*'s theoretical basis for pedagogy and their actual compositions. We have had a

[105] See the mentioned work by Sanguinetti, "Gli schemi di partimento in alcune composizioni sacre di Pergolesi", in Studi Pergolesiani, edited by Francesco Cotticelli and Paolo Giovanni Maione, Bern, Peter Lagn AG, 2015, pp. 457-484. This work is an example of the link between *partimento*'s training and sacred composition practice.

glimpse of the teaching context and the inheritance from the past, seeing what changed and what remained in the traditions of the late nineteenth century. This enables us to reconsider the standards imposed by current systematic music theory and sense the gaps in the nineteenth-century theoretical research. It also importantly enables us to debate why late operatic composers would select historic techniques, specific recalls and old fashion patterns, for their musical perspectives.

If these traditions belong to a common heritage, not only to operatic musical life but also to the composers of nineteenth-century instrumental music, questions arise then around the dramaturgical dimension. Opera has its own musical language with theatrical context. Elements relating to musical praxis are used therefore with particular 'colour' and related visual expression in a dramaturgical sense. Accordingly, we see particular patterns. If eighteenth-century musical theory and practice coincided and the schemes of *partimenti*, *basso continuo*, or recalling sacred musical traditions, were an integral and vital part of musical production, this union started to change in the late nineteenth century. The opera composer no longer used a Romanesque, Prinner, Quiescienza or segments of the RdO for entire pages, as for a Haydn Symphony or in an aria of Cimarosa. For the late nineteenth century opera composers, these schemes could become typical recalls, colours or *topoi,* relevant to dramaturgical aspects.

We should recall that the composers of the late nineteenth century worked in a different historical era and contexts. If the legacy was the same, the commitment was different. In particular, relations with music publishing were very set.[106] The musical production process changed and the time to compose a musical work, from the late Verdi works and others, was empowered by more elastic scheduling. The opera composition and production process de-accelerated and was modulated by more flexible expectations in late nineteenth-century opera. Many eighteenth-century composers had been used to writing intensively and urgently during their careers, with lesser expectations around original expression, and from the early eighteenth century until the early nineteenth century, the ability to compose in a very short time, even a

[106] Elvidio Surian, "The Opera Composer", in *Opera Production and its Resources*, edited by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 291–344.

few weeks to prepare an opera score, was the norm. This ceased to be the case later on. A musician of the late nineteenth century no longer had such a need to compose under pressure but would enjoy production times more responsive to need, with greater room for creative thought and broader musical techniques employed. The use of a pattern became less dictated by particular artisan use or repertoire's patterns, as it had for an eighteenth-century opera composed using the same models, schemes and repertory patterns as acquired during the composer's apprenticeship.

Moreover, as we have seen, the *Giovane Scuola* composers lived in a period – on the heels of the nineteenth-century Romantic ideal of musical creativity being original – where originality was considered an aim to be developed alongside technique and its associated influences. For this reason, the use of a retrospective and old-fashioned pattern could have been a certain archetype present and used from their apprenticeship. This is suggested in the evidence from the author's own research about the techniques and compositional patterns of the period. In such a way, a composer like Giacomo Puccini may have chosen to use the *partimento* pattern as cliché for evocative connotation within a dramaturgical context. In fact, we do not find *partimento* patterns present across every similar dramaturgical context throughout Puccini's operas. Puccini could address his thoughts on a specific operatic passage he was working on by electing among various old-fashioned patterns (or contemporary compositional techniques) to colour or flavour an atmosphere with recall. This was the key difference in the use of particular *partimento* schemes within operatic language with its theatrical dimensions and other music and contexts such as instrumental music of the nineteenth century. Although both contexts have exploited this extensive heritage as ubiquitous usage, the operatic language has its own specific context.

In fact, while working on the last act of La Boheme, Puccini refers to an antiquated pattern in a letter to Giulio Ricordi, which we could consider as *Romanesca* or a commonplace *solfeggio* singing lesson. He employed it in the duet 'Sono andati':

> The act is composed almost entirely of local repetitions, apart from the *duettino* "*Sono andati*" […]. I think I have found a good beginning for the *duettino* and the

culminating phrase is effective although not that new; but then, there's no need to split hairs, is there?'[107]

Ricordi was an editor known to have subscribed to the newer thinking around more flexible and permissive scheduling in opera production than may have been true for Rossini or Donizetti. The letter testifies to a crucial point regarding opera analysis of the time. Despite that composers had still been formed within prestigious schools with solid and rigorous curricula and training, an idea that this research reinforces, any rules for applying particular patterns to particular theatrical events were certainly not evident. Not always or even necessarily, as had been more the norm in the previous century, did Verdi – or indeed later Cilea, Puccini or Giordano – use the same *partimento* schemes or any other specific past tradition for the same dramaturgical moments across operas.

This is because the *Giovane Scuola*'s repertoire of schemes and techniques – their *zibaldone* – had evolved to include a wider variety of techniques. The subjects chosen for their operas were becoming more diversified. Cilea, for example, would not use a reference to an eighteenth-century galant scheme in a work that did not have an eighteenth-century synopsis, like he did for Andrea Chenier. His personages, opera subjects and timing in set-up were diverse, and composed across different years. However, the legacy from their never forgotten pedagogic traditions, and their use, is evident as compositional praxis of that time. As noted by the art historian Arnold Hauser, who famously authored the old but still essential social history of art,[108] at the end of the nineteenth century a transition took place in art. Previously, art had been a 'craft' informed contemporarily by tradition. Thereafter it became a synthesis, a dialogue between past and present. Normativity in styles ceded to a more dynamic integration of influences from various points in time.

There was no defined struggle against conventional means of expression with a clear dissolution of the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century artistic traditions towards what they would become in the early twentieth century. There was simply diverse

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[107] Quoted in Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini*, p. 269

[108] Arnold Hauser, *Storia sociale dell'arte*, Torino, Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 1956.

linkage between the past and the present. Of course, it is not always possible to assert the precise meaning of one musical scheme or another within an opera context, just as such a sense is not always evident in an impressionist painting or in a Van Gogh masterpiece. However, these schemes are present within late nineteenth-century operas of our selected authors. The legacy is strong and well-integrated. The fact that these patterns are present within our composers' creations in specific theatrical and musical contexts is notable, but the underlying question shifts to 'how' these patterns may have been selected and used.

Having been richly armed with these deep traditions, the *Giovane Scuola* composers could evoke an atmosphere or underline a milieu or give depth to a character introduced in an aria or duet, by understanding sublimely subtle associations between various schemes of outmoded church rituals and eighteenth-century schemes or typical *partimento* recalls. It can be posited that this is the very essence of distinction, to cleverly select specific *topoi* from the eighteenth-century music to place in contemporary musical praxis. We cannot always find the same *zibaldone* used by the eighteenth-century composers for the same dramaturgical contexts across all operas. Yet their presence as co-determinants is clear, linking artistic legacies with modernity in immensely complex ways. The modernity enjoyed by Cilea and Giordano among others was not entirely modern but rather infused with traditions greatly esteemed by them, as will be explored in the following chapters. The past can be a valid part of modernity, which are very often embraced by the new forms of expression.

The gap under the spotlight in this thesis shows that the traditions do not tend to die where the integration is so widely familiar to operatic composers and audiences. Baragwanath noted in his study on Puccini:

> Opera audiences remained the final arbiter of musical taste. Such attitudes served to differentiate the Italian musical traditions of the nineteenth century from those that held sway elsewhere in Europe, especially in Germany […]. Puccini, in common with other composers of the Italian opera traditions, was content to remain within time-

> honoured conventions, or at least not to stray too far from them in order to please his audience and to assist in its appreciation.[109]

Indeed, the *Giovane Scuola* composers' apprenticeships were closely aligned with popular demand, namely the public's musical tastes which appreciated Italian retrospection perhaps more than Romantic spontaneity and the newer German influence.

These legacies discussed could feasibly be the focus for extensive future research in the analysis of opera and music theory of the late nineteenth century. The same line of discussions that Baragwanath launched over Puccini's music can be extended with this research on an entire generation of composers. Further, the existing divorce between historical musicology and music theory[110] research can be bridged. An equally historical and theoretical approach for late nineteenth-century opera traditions might help to place theory, analysis and the *partimento* tradition itself in a more tangible historical context.

The following chapter explores the nineteenth-century point of passage that sees the venerated Giuseppe Verdi as a *trait d'union* between the eighteenth-century traditions and successive composition. The second part of the chapter proceeds into the historical background of the musical and cultural basis underlying the formation of the *Giovane Scuola* composers.

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[109] In Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini*, pp. 41–45.

[110] An excellent book on this field is *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, edited by Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

CHAPTER 2

AN OPERA COMPOSER'S TRAINING: GIUSEPPE VERDI AND THE REVERED ITALIAN COMPOSITION SCHOOL

Giovane Scuola composers were near-contemporaries of Giuseppe Verdi's late years. Their musical worlds were rooted in Verdi's legacy, in sharp contrast to the cosmopolitan influences of musicians such as Richard Wagner or Georges Bizet. The *Giovane Scuola* vocabulary, especially early in their careers, was rooted in a time when Verdi was the *ispe dixit* of the Italian operatic heritage. As explored in this chapter, Verdi consistently encouraged younger composers to integrate the old pedagogic traditions in which he was trained. Verdi was a *trait d'union* between the earlier Neapolitan compositional practice and the legacy inherited by Cilea, Catalani, Giordano and Puccini. The training of Verdi and his ideas on compositional practice were not so different from the musical thinking of former Italian masters, considered essential guides to the formation of a young composer facing his professional operatic career. The esteem for Verdi and his advice for the study of composition have always been considered with great reverence by composers such as Umberto Giordano and Pietro Mascagni, and the respect was mutual.

Warm professional bonds between Verdi and Giordano, for instance, began in the mid-1890s and endured until 1901. Despite Mascagni's manners and personality being initially repellent to Verdi, his *Cavalleria Rusticana* was appreciated by the old composer and, according to Mascagni, Verdi stressed the importance of studying Bach as well as the Neapolitan masters during their conversations at the end of the nineteenth century. [111]

Initially, this chapter will comment on Verdi's training and the legacy of compositional pedagogic traditions persisting as an essential guide for the newer operatic generations at the end of the century.

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[111] See Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera, From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1015,* Boston, Northeastern University Press, 2007, p.113.

There is a significant body of scholarly literature on the life and works of Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901)[112]. Not all composers have enjoyed such eminence and eternal commemoration. As evident in previous chapters, a reductive norm has arisen out of the generalist historical approach towards nineteenth-century opera composition: this was a tendency to overlook composers deemed unworthy of analysis, such as the case of Alfredo Catalani, Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano. Verdi sits in stark contrast to such composers.

The work of Roberta Montemora Marvin[113], among others, carefully examines the foundations of Verdi's musical education and training. Although not a technically analytical work, this study records for posterity the prominence of the Neapolitan compositional school as a context to the studies of the young Verdi. One more relevant study explores Verdi's training with Vincenzo Lavigna, namely an insightful article by Giorgio Sanguinetti[114] .

An argument for why these traditions were so quintessential in defining opera composition and why it is necessary to explore a composer removed from the original Giovane Scuola context will be elucidated in this chapter.

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[112] It is not possible to list the large number of relevant studies on Verdi, but among others, I should mention: Gregory. W. Harwood, *Giuseppe Verdi. A guide to Research*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2012; *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi*, edited by Scott L. Balthazar, Cambridge University Press, 2004; Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, Vol. 1-2-3, London, Cassell, 1984; Charles Osborne, *The Complete Opera of Verdi*, New York, Da Capo Press, 1969; John Rosella, *The life of Verdi*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Massimo Mila, *Verdi*, Milan, BUR, 2012; Roger Parker, *Studies in Early Verdi. 1832-1844: New Information and Perspectives on the Milanese Musical milieu and the Operas from Oberto to Ernani*, New York and London, Garland, 1989; Luigi Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater: Essays on Verdi and Other Composers*. Translations by Roger Parker and William Drabkin, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994; Fabrizio della Seta, "Parola scenica in Verdi e nella critica verdiana", in *Le parole della musica, Studi sulla lingua della letteratura musicale in onore di Gianfranco Folena*, edited by Fiamma Nicolodi and Paolo Trovato, Florence, Olschki, 1994; Roger Parker, "On Reading Nineteenth-Century Opera: Verdi through the Looking Glass", in *Reading Opera*, ed.ited by Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, Princeton, Princeton University Press,1988; Piero Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres", in *Journal of the American Musicological Society 35*, 1982, pp.138-156;

[113] See Roberta Montemorra Marvin*, Verdi the Student-Verdi the Teacher*, Parma, Istituto nazionale di studi verdiani, 2010.

[114] Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Diminution and Harmonic Counterpoint in Late-Eighteenth-Century Naples: Vincenzo Lavigna's Studies with Fedele Fenaroli", in *Journal of Schenkerian Studies* 7, 2013, pp. 31–61.

2.1 Verdi and the pedagogical traditions of his time

As is widely known, Verdi too was trained according to traditional methods.[115] He later spoke of the need to preserve a specifically Italian composition school. His agenda for the future of Italian music involved the promotion of a conservative turn to the past. If for Giordano, Catalani and Cilea these traditions were used as *topoi* or as specific schemata in a dramaturgical context[116], for Verdi they seem to have had even more of a specific and relevant context of Italian identity; the very same identity mentioned by Cilea in the late part of the century but in a different context.[117] Examples from the works, such as *Rigoletto, La traviata* and *Il trovatore* will be discussed in the light of an emerging body of the mentioned scholarly literature and my own analysis of nineteenth century Italian opera. Some analytical examples will show that Verdi's music can be readily interpreted in light of the traditional training he received in composition.

Given this methodological direction, this first part of this chapter is not specifically about Verdi and his operas, but rather more about demonstrating how the music pedagogical traditions of his time were reflected in and impacted the Italian operatic context of the second half of the nineteenth. All Giovane Scuola composers, infact, held Verdi and his music in great esteem and recognized his importance. This chapter therefore proposes the idea of continuity between Verdi's use of musical patterns as *topoi* – given the operatic context – and the exploration of traditions by the Giovane Scuola composers.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, recent studies have proposed a great deal of evidence to show that the study of counterpoint and harmony, involving pedagogical exercises in *partimento*, bass motions, *solfeggi* (as exercises in both composition and

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[115] Massimo Mila, *La giovinezza di Verdi*, Turin, ERI, 1974; *Verdi. L'uomo nelle sue lettere*, edited by Franz Werfel and Paul Stefan, Rome, Castelvecchi, 2013; Gabriele Baldini, *Abitare la battaglia; La storia di Giuseppe Verdi*. Edited by Fedele D'Amico, Milan, Garzanti, 1970. An English translation is available by Roger Parker, *The Story of Giuseppe Verdi: 'Oberto to Un Ballo in maschera*, foreword by Julian Budden, Cambridge University Press, 1980; Massimo Mila, *L'arte di Verdi*, Turin, Einaudi, 1980; *Verdi*, edited by Piero Gelli, Milan, Rizzoli, 2000.

[116] See the previous chapter of this thesis.

[117] This aspect is explored in chapter four.

singing), formed a conventional foundation for almost anyone pursuing a career as a professional musician in the eighteenth century, regardless of their eventual specialism.

In the nineteenth century, significant parts of this tradition continued to be taught in Italy, thanks to the prestige of Fenaroli and his methods[118] whose importance in Verdi's training has been demonstrated. We can finally appreciate how much this traditional Italian composition school influenced Verdi's training and his later teaching activities through the analysis of documents and letters and not just through the legends surrounding Verdi's youth.[119]

A letter written in 1883[120] encapsulates the great esteem held by Verdi towards the Neapolitan conservatories and its old masters:

> You know that the Minister Baccelli has instituted a commission for the dramatic art and music style of which I should be part of. . [...]. I can tell you what I cannot say to him officially, and for my part I do not think we can remedy the evil which the minister himself deplores. The Germanism invades us! Our teachers follow the current. They do not believe in the Italian art and they do not know how to write in Italian style. In this way, our theatre dies. It also dies because theatre is not possible without talent.

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[118] See Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Il Gradus ad Parnassum di Fedele Fenaroli"*, in Fedele Fenaroli, il didatta e il compositore*, edited by G. Miscia, Lucca, LIM, 2010, pp.209-224; 'L'eredita' di Fenaroli nell'Ottocento", in *Giuseppe Martucci e la caduta delle Alpi*, edited by Caroccia, Maione, Seller, Lucca, LIM, 2008.

[119] Montemora Marvin, *Verdi the Student-Verdi the Teacher*, pp.1-5.

[120] The letter addressed to the lawyer Piroli is quoted in *Carteggio Verd*i, 1882-1885, Parma, Istituto nazionale di studi verdiani, 1994, p.36. This is my own translation from the original: Lettera avvocato Piroli 1883: 'Caro Piroli, voi sapete che il ministro Baccelli ha instituito una commissione per l'arte musicale e drammatica di cui io dovrei far parte.[…]. . A voi posso ben dire quello che non posso dire a lui officialmente e per parte mia non credo si possa più rimediare al male che il ministro stesso deplora. Il germanismo ci invade! I nostri maestri stessi seguono la corrente. Non credono più all'arte italiana e non sanno più scrivere italianamente. Così il nostro teatro muore. E muore anche perché il teatro non è possibile senza dote. A questo il governo potrebbe rimediare, volendo, al resto no. Rimedio solo forse sarebbe di instituire i conservatori musicali com'erano anticamente in Napoli fino al principio di questo secolo ma guai a colui che ne facesse una proposta! In questi tempi, col nostro progresso, misericordia! (…). E sapete voi com'erano instituiti quei conservatori? Primo, non al liceo ma a convitto. Secondo: profondi erano gli studi della grammatica e della lingua musicale. Terzo: cultura letteraria, soprattutto di istoria, imparando così a conoscere l'uomo e le sue passioni. Infine, in tutto una istruzione pratica, soda, seria, senza esagerazioni, senza permettere all'immaginazione dei giovani di crearsi degli idoli da imitare più tardi.
Finiti gli studi l'alunno sicuro di se si slanciava nel mondo e creava e portava le meraviglie dell'arte nostra nelle corti e nei paesi stranieri.'

> The government could fix that, it cannot fix the rest. The only remedy, just maybe, would be instituting music conservatoires as they were in Naples until the beginning of this century, but no one wants to suggest this idea! In these times, with our kind of 'progress', mercy! And do you want to know how these conservatoires were? […]. Deep was the study of grammar and musical language. Then humanistic culture, especially of history. In this way, students could learn to know the man and his passions. Finally, a solid education based on practice, strong and serious training, without exaggeration, without allowing the imagination of young students to create idols to imitate later. After their graduation, the student was well prepared and ready for the world and to create and lead the wonders of our art in the courts and in foreign countries.

Verdi attempted to study at the Milan Conservatoire but, as is well known, he failed. A letter from 1880, written by Verdi himself, refers to this point and in doing so provides us with relevant information on the admission process and his decision to study privately:[121]

> I applied to enter the conservatory not in 1833 but in June 1832, when I was not yet nineteen years old. The admission was as a paying student. I was examined at the Conservatory, presenting some of my compositions, and playing a piano piece in front of Basily, Piantanida, Angeleri and others. There was also the old Rolla, to whom I was recommended by my master of Busseto, Ferdinando Provesi. Eight days later, I went to visit Rolla who told me, 'Do not think anymore to the conservatory: choose a teacher here; I would suggest Lavigna or Negri.' I did not know anything more of the Conservatory. […].

[121] This is my own trasnslation from the original text of the letter written on 13th October 1880 and quoted in Verdi, *Lettere*, p.496. 'Carissimo Caponi, non nel 1833, ma nel 1832 nel mese di giugno (non aveva compiuti 19 anni) feci domanda in iscritto per essere ammesso come alunno pagante al Conservatorio di Milano. Di più subii una specie di esame al conservatorio presentando alcune mie composizioni, e suonando un pezzo sul pianoforte dinanzi a Basily, a Piantanida, Angeleri ed altri ecc. Ecc., piu il vecchio Rolla, al quale ero raccomandato dal mio maestro di Bussetto, Ferdinando Provesi. Circa otto giorni dopo mi recai dal Rolla il quale mi disse: Non pensate piu al Consevatorio: 'scegliete un maestro in cittá: io vi consiglio o Lavigna o Negri.' Non seppi piu nulla del Conservatorio. Nissuno rispose alla mia domanda. Nissuno mi parló, né prima, né dopo l' esame, del Regolamento.'

Verdi studied in Milan with Vincenzo Lavigna (1776-1836)[122] who, he claimed, "was very strong in counterpoint"[123] and Lavigna studied with Fenaroli from 1791 to 1794 at the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, in Naples. Verdi himself taught Emanuele Muzio (1821-1890)[124] using the same pedagogical approach that he received as a student. Thus, we can trace a direct heritage from Fenaroli to Lavigna to Verdi to Muzio. Muzio was privileged to be the only student of Verdi, and in his letters to Antonio Barezzi,[125] we find precious detail on these studies. From these descriptions, Marvin has reconstructed in her book a plausible syllabus, which clearly demonstrates the importance of Fenaroli's *partimenti*, Stanislao Mattei's counterpoint methods, Arcangelo Corelli's studies and transcriptions and studies based on Giovanni Battista Martini's examples.[126] Furthermore, the steps set out by Muzio in large part

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[122] Studies on Vincenzo Lavigna can be found in Arturo Pougin, *G. Verdi. Vita aneddotica con note e aggiunte di Folchetto*, Milano 1881, pp.13-17 and pp. 140-142; Ottavio Serena, *I musicisti altamurani*; *notizie raccolte e pubblicate da Ottavio Serena in occasione del centenario di Saverio Mercadante*, Altamura, Tipografia fratelli Portoghese, 1895, pp. 25-27; Pompeo Cambiasi, *La Scala 1778-1906. Note storiche e statistiche*, Milan, Edizioni Giulio Ricordi, 1906, p. 53; Giuseppe De Napoli, "*Il maestro di G. Verdi, Vincenzo Lavigna"*, in *La Lettura*, XXVIII, 2, 1928, pp. 138-144; *La triade melodrammatica altamurana: G. Tritto (1733-1824), Vincenzo Lavigna. (1776-1836), Saverio Mercadante (1795-1870)*, Milan, Industrie grafiche Rosio & Fabe, 1931, pp. 47-66; Luigi Agostino Garibaldi, *Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi*, Milan, Treves, 1931, pp. 166-169; Carlo Gatti, *Verdi*, Milan, Mondadori, 1981,pp. 62-79; *Catalogo delle opere musicali del conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella di Napoli*, edited by G. Gasperini - F. Gallo, Parma 1934, pp. 127, 455; Arold Oberdorfer, *G. Verdi. Autobiografia dalle lettere*, Milan, Rizzoli,1951; Franco Abbiati, *G. Verdi*, I-IV vol., Milan, Ricordi, 1959; Frank Walker, *L'uomo Verdi*, Milan, Mursia, 1964; Vincenzo Terenzio, *La musica italiana nell'Ottocento*, Milan, Bramante Editrice, 1976, p.199; *Detty Bozzi, Luisa Cosi, Musicisti nati in Puglia ed emigrazione musicale tra Seicento e Novecento. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Lecce, Rome, Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo,* 1988; *L'arcano incanto. Il teatro Regio di Torino 1740-1990, edited by* Alberto Basso, Milan, Electa, 1991, pp. 59, 341; Rosa Cafiero, "*Gli affetti convenienti alle idee"*, in *Studi sulla musica vocale italiana*, Naples, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1993, pp. 549-580; Bianca.Maria Antolini, *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani 1750-1830*, Rome, Edizioni ETS, 2000, p. 259; Dino Rizzo, "*L'apprendista compositore: Provesi e Lavigna, maestri di musica di G. Verdi"*, in *Arte organaria e organistica*, VIII (2001), 38, pp. 12-19; F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, Vincenzo Lavigna, p. 232; Carlo Schmidl, *Dizionario universale dei musicisti*, I, Gonzogno, 1938, p. 820; *Supplemento*, p. 461; *Dizionario enciclopedico universale. della musica e dei musicisti*, *Le biografie*, IV, p. 324; *The New Grove Dictionaary of music and musicians* (ed. 2001), XIV, pp. 388 -392.

[123] Quoted in Frank Walker, *The Man Verdi*, Phoenix Edition, 2016, p.13.

[124] Emanuele Muzio was a lifelong friend and the only student of Verdi. He was also a composer and conductor.

[125] The letter was written on 24th June 1844, and is quoted in Luigi Agostino Garibaldi, *Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi*, Milan, Treved, 1031. p.168. This is my own translation.

[126] In my own translation from a letter dated 13th March 1845, written by Muzio to Barezzi: "*Devo apparecchiarmi molti materiali per il mio studio di contrappunto e copiare i partimenti del P. Martini e P. Mattei*", Garibaldi, p.189.

correspond to the methods of Lavigna, the same methods which Verdi had studied. Clearly, Muzio's apprenticeship closely reflected this pedagogic tradition.[127]

[127] Montemorra Marvin, *Verdi the Student – Verdi the Teacher*, pp.40-41.

Unfortunately, there are no definitive preserved records of Verdi's studies with his master. However, an account of the methods deployed, and details of the knowledge gained about specific composer's work in which Emanuele Muzio was trained might lead us to understand exactly what Verdi referred to as 'fundamental methods and authors for his unique student'. The Muzio syllabus[128] included the study of counterpoint following the aforementioned Fenaroli which included his *Partimenti ossia Basso numerato*, and *Regole musicali*. The study of strict counterpoint was associated with textbook *Contrappunti da due a otto parti* following Stanislao Mattei's methods. Additional lessons in counterpoint and *partimen*ti suggested the well-known *Esemplare o sia Saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto sopra il canto fermo*, written by Martini together with *Pratica di accompagnamento sopra bassi numerati* by Stanislao Mattei.

Further studies of musical models to improve the composition practice were included Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), Francesco Antonio Vallotti (1697-1780), Bonifazio Asioli's *Trattato di armonia*[129]*,* Luigi Antonio Sabbatini (1732-1809), and Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739).
These methods were all strongly influenced by Neapolitan and Bolognese compositional practices. As Montemorra explains:

> [Fenaroli's] method books were issued in numerous editions and disseminated widely until the latter part of the nineteenth-century. The studies in counterpoint that Muzio described can be traced with a fair amount of certainty to Fenaroli's *Studio del contrappunto*, and much else in his reports corresponds to the lesson and recommendations in Fenaroli's well-known *Partimenti*
> and his *Regole musicali*. [...] Indeed, the sometimes-puzzling comments in some of Muzio's letters can be understood only in reference to Fenaroli's methods.[130]

Years later, when Verdi was firmly established as a leading composer, he still considered the traditional methods of composers such as Alessandro Scarlatti,

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[128] *Ibidem*, pp.32-36.
[129] Bonifazio Asioli, *Trattato di armonia*, Milan, Ricordi, 1815.
[130] Montemorra Marvin, p.39.

Francesco Durante, and Leonardo Leo worthy of continuation, indeed, more than that, as routes to future success:

> It would have made me proud (and at this point it would not have been a step backward) to exercise the students in those serious, rigorous, and, in this instance, renowned studies of these early fathers. I would have insisted, as it is said, on putting one foot in the past, and the other in the present and in the future [...]. [131]

Verdi's conclusion to this statement was the origin of the famous sentence:

> Return to the past, and it will be progress. [132]

Verdi's own words[133] give us some clue as to what he considered to be valuable and essential skills for opera composers of his time to master in order for them to become successful professional musicians, and these stemmed from a strong musical belief which Verdi honoured his entire life:

> I shall speak only of the Composer and the Singer, since I believe that in instrumental teaching (which has always achieved optimal results) there is little to reform. I would therefore like the young composer to have lengthy and rigorous exercises in all types of counterpoint. Studies of early sacred and secular compositions. It is necessary to observe, however, that even among early works, not everything is good: thus, it is necessary to make choices. No study of modern composers! This will seem strange to

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131 Quoted in Montemora Marvin, "Verdi's Music of the Future", in *Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles*, edited by C. A. Monson and R. Montemora Marvin, University of Rochester Press, 2013, p.158.

132 *Ibidem.*

133 Much of the correspondence, letters and documents written to and by Verdi have been published in many reprints: Verdi, *Libretti and letters*, Milan, Oscar Mondadori, 2000; *Autobiografia epistolare*, edited by Aldo Oberdorfer, 2 vol, Naples, Pagano, 2001, Verdi, *L'uomo nelle sue lettere*, edited by Franz Werfel and Paul Stefan, Rome, Castelvecchi, 2013. I should also mention : Luigi Agostino Garibaldi, *Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi*, Milan, Treves, 1931; Alessandro Luzio, (edited by), *Carteggi verdiani*: 4 vols., Rome, Accademmia Nazionale dei Lincei: Studi e documenti (4), 1935-47; Gaspare Nello Vetro, "Giuseppe Verdi, maestro di musica in Busseto: Il giudizio inedito di Alinovi e altre carte dell'Archivio di Stato di Parma", in *Verdi: Bollettino dell'Istituto di Studi Verdiani 3, n.*8, 1973; Mario Medici and Marcello Conati, (edited by), *Carteggio Verdi-Boito. Edizione critica della corrispondenza verdiana*, Parma, Istituto di Studi Verdiani, 2 vols. XXXV, 1978; Carlo M. Mossa (edited by), *Carteggi Verdi-Cammarano (1843-1852)*. Edizione critica della corssipondenza verdiana, Parma, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 2001.

> many people, but when I hear and see today so many works composed as bad tailors make suits on a patron, I cannot change my opinion. I am well aware that they will be able to tell me about several modern works that are as worthy as early ones, but what does it matter? When the young composer has studied rigorously, when he has forged a style, and when he has confidence in his own abilities, he will be able to study these works later, if he believes them to be useful, and the danger of him becoming an imitator will be eliminated. But it will be possible to counter this by asking: "Who will teach instrumentation to the young composer? Who will teach him free composition?" His mind and his heart if he will let them.[134]

This poses an interesting question. Which field of study would Verdi have considered the correct choice for masters to train their students in? Regarding the great figures of the Neapolitan tradition, Verdi also wrote that:

> Durante and Leo developed themselves the methods to be followed: their methods in some ways differed from one to the other but both were good. Not even later under Fenaroli, who left his partimenti now known by everyone, were there teaching norms. Nor at the Liceo in Bologna, in the era of Padre Martini, a name to whom everyone has bowed down, Italians and foreigners, among them Gluck and Mozart.[135]

The sentiment of respect and admiration for the Verdi's master is also testified in a correspondence[136] from Verdi to Francesco Florimo in 1871:

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[134] The letter has been translated by Montemorra Marvin, in *Verdi the Student-Verdi the Teacher*, pp.173-174. Here the original in Italian: 'Non parlerò del Compositore e del Cantante, perché credo che nella parte esecutiva istromentale (che ha sempre dato ottimi risultati) vi sia poco a riformare. Vorrei dunque pel giovane compositore esercizi lunghissimi e severi su tutti i rami del contrappunto. Studi sulle composizioni antiche sacre e profane. Bisogna però osservare che anche fra gli antichi non tutto é bello: quindi bisogna scegliere. Nissuno studio sui Moderni! Ciò parrá a molti strano; ma quando sento e vedo in oggi tante opera fatte, come i cattivi sarti fanno i vestiti sopra un patrono, in non posso cambiare d'opinione. So bene che mi si potranno citare molte produzioni modern che valgono le antiche; ma che importa? Quando il giovane avrá fatto severi studi; quando si sará fatto uno stile, e che avrá confidenze nelle proprie forze, potrá bene, se lo crederá utile, studiare piú tardi queste opere, e sará a lui tolto il pericolo di diventare un Imitatore. Mi si potra' opporre: chi insegnera' al giovane l'istromentale? Chi la composizione ideale? La sua testa ed il suo cuore se ne avra'. The letter is from Verdi to Piroli, 7th February 1871 quoted in *Carteggi verdiani*, vol. III, p. 76.

[135] *Letters of Giuseppe Verdi*, edited by Charles Osborne, New York Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 171.

[136] The letter is preserved in the Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella in Naples, I-Nc Rari I.6D.10/73 and quoted in Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, Milan, Ricordi & C, 1959, Vl 1, p.118. For a deeper study of Saverio Valente and his life and works, see the work of Marialuisa Baroni, Saverio *Valente: Komponist, Theoretiker, Lehrer*. PhD Thesis, Hochschule für Musik und Tanz Köln, forthcoming.

> Lavigna was Fenaroli's student and was quite old while being taught at college (I do not remember which one) but he was studying with Valente as well. Valente is not well known among us, but you might know him quite well perhaps. Lavigna held him in high esteem and if we observe about five or six of the original fugues that Lavigna conserved, as well as several subjects of fugues which were useful for my own studies, I must venture to say that Valente was greater and more competent than Fenaroli himself.[137]

Lavigna's collection of exercises, contained in the Noseda Collection of the Milan Conservatory library, consists of seven books of exercises, supervised by Fenaroli, Saverio Verde, and Giuseppe Gargani between 1791 and 1795[138]. These sources have been studied by Giorgio Sanguinetti. His examination clearly confirms that counterpoint, according to the Neapolitan school, "constituted the bulk of composition teaching".[139] The exercises follow the standard *partimento* model, being ordered progressively into cadences, scales, bass patterns, and suspensions. Appendix 4 lists the contents of Lavigna exercises and their categorisations.

This chapter has no need to specifically examine Lavigna's method and manuscripts but rather to highlight the importance of these traditions for Verdi and his professional activities as a musician. It should be affirmed, however, that the construction and the content of these manuscripts clearly show a markedly similar approach to the counterpoint notebook examined in the following chapters on Cilea, Giordano and Catalani.

As formerly mentioned, the influence of Fenaroli and the tradition of *partimento* is most evident in the early works of Verdi, but it can also be found in masterpieces like *Traviata* or *Ernani*. The use of Neapolitan cadences functioning as basic tonal structures – an opening tonic followed by a progression to the dominant and a closing

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[137] "Lavigna era un allievo di Fenaroli, che vecchissimo dava ancora lezioni al Collegio di (non so più quale) ma nello stesso tempo Lavigna prendeva lezioni particolari da Valente. Valente e' un nome poco conosciuto da noi ma da voi altri dovreste conoscerlo bene. Lavigna ne aveva un' altissima opinione e se si deve giudicare da cinque o sei fughe originali che Lavigna ha conservate e da molti soggetti di fuga, che han servitor anche ai misi studi, Valente era contrappuntista molto, ma molto piu sicuro di Fenaroli". This is my own translation.

[138] Peter Van Tour, *Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*, p. 244.

[139] See also Montemorra Marvin, *Verdi the Student-Verdi the teacher*, p.42.

tonic – is exploited by Verdi in many of his masterpieces. An example is the use of the so-called *cadenza lunga* or "long cadence", a stepwise succession in the bass that leads to a cadence, usually along an upward path (*cammino ascendente*). These long cadences are usually accompanied above by the chords of the RdO, following the version which Fenaroli codified in his first book of *partimenti*.[140]

It is intriguing to scrutinise examples of Verdi's pedagogical traditions used as *topo*i[141] and favourite schemes in his works as a professional musician.[142] Below are impeccable examples taken from three of the most popular and eminent operas in the entire Verdi repertoire, *La traviata*, *Rigoletto* and *Il trovatore*.

The first of these three, premiering at Teatro La Fenice in Venice on 1853, is not in need of any introduction. The sad history of Violetta Valery and her love is among the most famous tales of all operatic time. The famous prelude precedes the entrance of the courtesan Violetta and her guests who are gathering for a galant ceremonious affair: the fashionable, nobles, courtiers, all come together in an atmosphere created by candlelight, voguish clothes, exotic perfumes and elegant dance. The fragility of this society is immediately: the poignancy of the hard truth that appearances are transient in such resplendence and face sad decline for the protagonist and her world.

One of the most famous patterns, frequently used in the galant period of the eighteenth century as an opening gambit, was created around a melody on a stepwise ascent with degrees 1-2-3- and a bass emphasized on 1-7-1. This was coined by Gjerdigen as Do-Re-Mi.[143] This pattern was one of the most known compositional *topoi* used at the beginning of the most high-profile eighteenth-century music.

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[140] See chapters 1-2.

[141] I shall argue that Verdi might use partimento patterns as specific topoi for the dramaturgical color of each musical intention. A considerable literature sources investigated different techniques to find a specific Tinta required by Verdi. One remarkable example can be observed in David Rosen, "Meter, Character, and Tinta in Verdi's Operas*", in Verdi's Middle Period, Sources Studies, Analysis, and Performance Practice*, edited by Martin Chusid, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 339-392.

[142] See also Marcello Conati, *Piegare la nota. Contrappunto e dramma in Ver*di, Florence, Leo.s. Olschki Editore, 2014.

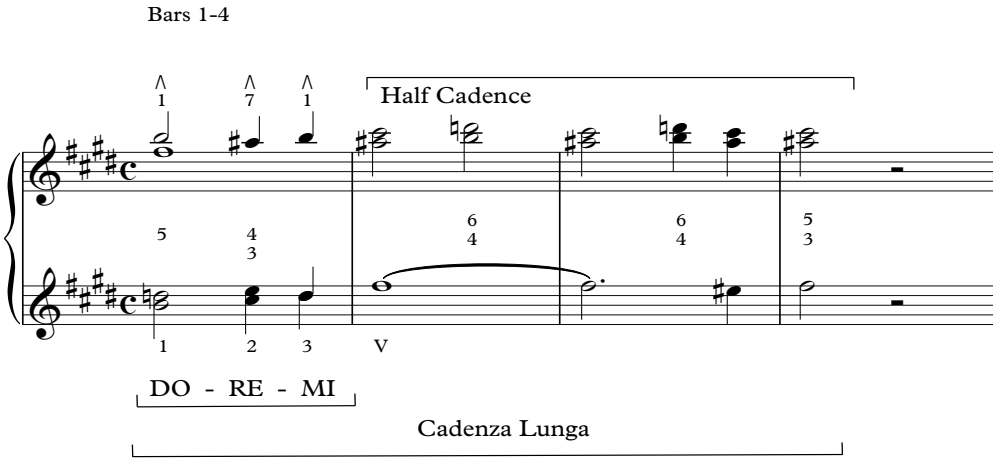
[143] The scheme called Do-Re-Mi is described by Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, pp.76-88.

My analytical reduction (Figure 2) reveals the will of Verdi to use as *topos* a typical *partimento* scheme in the first bars of this prelude, as reproduced in the Figure 1. The relevance of this scheme is the inversion of the pattern. The first measures of this prelude, in B minor, clearly show a Do-Re-Mi with a particular variation: the bass and top line are in fact inverted in comparison to the reference model, and the key is minor instead of major. This short passage is also part of a *cadenza lunga*, where the expected resolution on 1 is delayed through several devices to create suspension and ambiguity: a half cadence on V (bars 2-4), which is then followed by a chromatic progression with diminished 7^{ths} around V (bar 5).

Figure 1, G. Verdi, *La Traviata*, (1853), *Preludio* act 1, bb. 1-4.



Figure 2, *La Traviata*, *Preludio* act 1, Analytical Reduction bb. 1-4.



The key question arises as to whether Verdi intended to instil poignancy into this profane temporal scene – highlighting the emptiness of Violetta's existence – in the first act right before she was to fall in love with Alfredo. It might have been a foreshadowing ploy. The pattern used as dysphoric *topos*, with a negative meaning, was most probably a deliberate choice by the composer to represent the moral judgements of the ephemeral world of courtesans, nobility and aristocracy who had begun a gradual decline by the second half of the nineteenth-century.

In the second act of Traviata, Violetta and Alfredo have retreated to a country house just outside of Paris in order to escape Violetta's previous life after three months of

being together. Violetta receives an invitation to a lavish ball organised by her friend Flora. However, since she has chosen to withdraw from that style of living, she declines the invitation for the sake of Alfredo, and her wishes to no longer assume the role of a courtesan. While Alfredo is absent, his father, the very conservative and old-fashioned Giorgio Germont, arrives at the house. Germont does not bless their relationship, even after he discovers that Violetta is a generous soul and is reluctantly impressed by her nobility. Germont requests her to end her relationship with his son to protect his family due to Violetta's past history threatening his daughter's engagement. Violetta accepts the sacrifice and decides to give up the love of her life.

The duet between Violetta and Germont in the second act is full of tension, and Germont clearly shows his reluctance to accept any alternative way of living which could be in conflict with his values; his old-fashioned mind does not accept any idea that is distant from the life he has lived. Might Verdi have used a conservative contrapuntal pattern linked to the past to introduce the first solo of Germont? One of the foundations of the Neapolitan method of training, as discussed in chapters one, involved the bass motions which have been one of the most conservative and traditional patterns used by all opera composers of the nineteenth-century. Having been required to learn them, Verdi was familiar with these patterns and he might have used them for a specific meaning.

Figure 3 reproduces the first aria sung by Giorgio Germont, *Un dí quando le veneri*, in which he is judging Violetta for her past. Verdi clearly uses a *partimento che scende di quinta e sale di quarta*. The bass rising by fourth and falling by fifth is shown in my analytical reduction in Figure 4.

Figure 3, *La Traviata*, Duet Germont and Violetta, *Un dí quando le veneri*, act 2, bb. 1–16.



Figure 4, *La Traviata*, Duet act 2, Analytical Reduction, bb. 3-16.

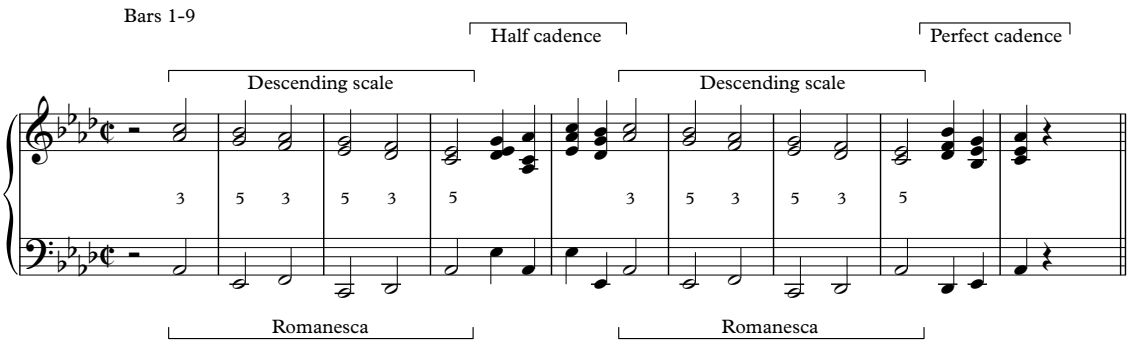


Typical of the galant courtesan atmosphere was another scheme already observed in this research: the *Romanesca* pattern, as illustrated in the second of our operas here, *Rigoletto*. Premiered on the 11th March 1851 at La Fenice, in Venice, *Rigoletto* is set in the sixteenth century with yet more nobility and courtesan society serving as a reflective backdrop for the unfolding drama of Rigoletto and his daughter Gilda. After the tense prelude, the beginning of the introduction (Figure 5) is structured on a galant *Romanesca* as seen in my analytical reduction in Figure 6. It is perfectly integrated with the ambience at the outset of the first act when the Duke of Mantova appears surrounded by noble ladies and members of the aristocracy.

Figure 5, G. Verdi, *Rigoletto* (1851), *Introduzione* act 1, bb. 1-11.



Figure 6, *Rigoletto*, *Introduzione* act 1, Analytical Reduction bb. 1-8.



For *Rigoletto*, Verdi composed one of the most celebrated and masterful vocal quartets in operatic history, where the Duke attempts to seduce Sparafucile's sister, Maddalena. It is sung together with Gilda in the third act. The beginning is shown in Figure 7. This quartet has been performed and recorded by many artists.

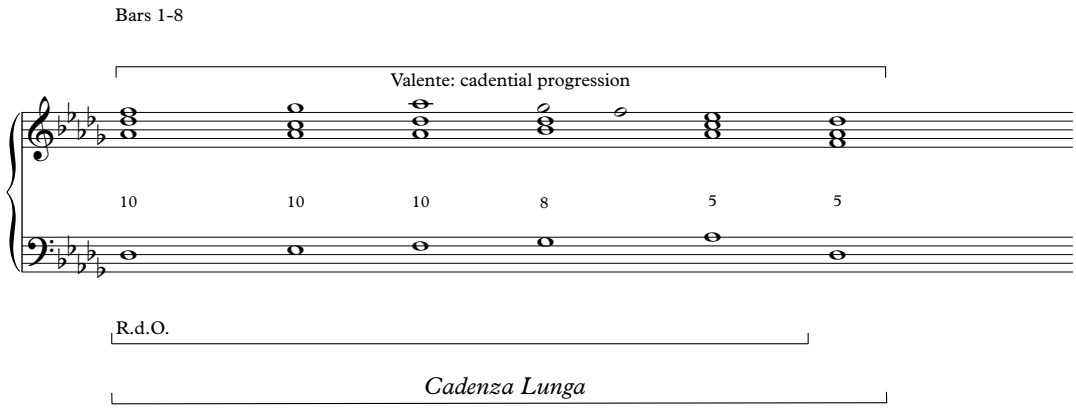
My analytical reduction (figure 8) clearly shows an elementary lesson pattern, such as the Rule of the Octave, based on a *Cadenza lunga,* in accordance with the partimento tradition.

Figure 7, G. Verdi, *Rigoletto* (1851), Quartet, *Bella figlia dell' amore,* act 1, bb. 1-9.



As depicted, Verdi employs a cadential progression in the key of Db major (bars 1-8) which is arguably derived from the *partimenti* of Valente, his beloved maestro as a youth.

Figure 8, *Rigoletto Bella Figlia dell'amore*, Analytical Reduction, bb. 1-8.



As shown in the analytical reduction, this cadential progression is made by a stepwise bass

motion from degrees 1 to 5 (bars 1-7) and harmonised according once again to the rule of the R.d.O. The cadential progression is followed by a perfect cadence (5-1, bars 7-8). The sum of such progression and the perfect cadence makes a *cadenza lunga,* one of the elementary exercises Verdi learnt during his training with Lavigna who himself learnt it as a student.

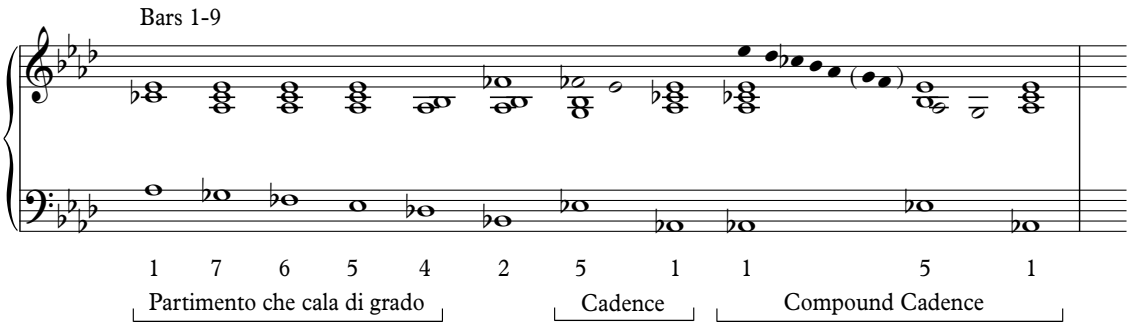
One more example testifying the legacy of Valente as an influence on Verdi, even by the time he had achieved worldwide acclaim, is represented in the aria of Leonora's great entrance in act 1 of *Il Trovatore* (figure 9), one of Verdi's most celebrated scenes. The opening portion, *Tacea la notte placida*, begins with a quintessential Verdian theme based on *a partimento che cala di grado*[144] and follows with two cadences, while Leonora describes how her mysterious lover has returned as a troubadour to serenade her. My analytical reduction (figure 10) clearly portrays the link between Valente's teaching and the use of *partimento* cadences. It is perfect for the aria's dramaturgical impact.

[144] Valente's example is described in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p.146.

Figure 9, G. Verdi, *Il Trovatore*, (1853), *Tacea la notte placida*, part I, bb. 1-9.[145]



Figure 10, Il Trovatore, *Tacea la notte placida*, Analytical Reduction, bb. 1-9.



[145] Verdi, *La Traviata*, Ricordi, n.d.Plate 43215

As explored in the introduction and in the first chapter of this dissertation, the use of *partimento* schemes related to Neapolitan school heritage no longer had the same function of being a model of imitation that would structure entire pages of eighteenth-century music. Verdi, like other composers of his time, does not predictably employ the same patterns every time he uses an opera chorus or at the beginning of an aria. It is not always possible to assert a single interpretation. However, sometimes these patterns are present in specific moments in Verdi's works. He perhaps had an interest in using patterns familiar to him and well associated with the Neapolitan school. After all, for Verdi it was the foundation of Italian compositional tradition and the hope for the future of Italian operatic music. The examples from specific contexts, described in this work, are there to provoke enquiry into the inheritance of *partimento* traditions, suggested to be integral in Italian nineteenth-century opera as well as for Giovane Scuola composers.

In this chapter, I have laid out a set of carefully chosen and significant observations that form the basis of a broader claim on their interconnectedness. It is the influence of contemporary compositional practice in Verdi. In summary, therefore, while Verdi was undeniably one of the greatest composers of his time, he was also very notably the heir to an important Italian pedagogical and compositional tradition known to professional musicians throughout Europe. How he built on the foundations of this tradition and how much his audiences were aware of it are interesting questions that may inspire further investigation.

2.2 Following Verdi's mantle: The Italian Opera Context at the Fin de Siècle

Finally, in this chapter, we shift to the cultural context of those who succeeded Verdi, the aforementioned group of Italian composers flourishing in the late nineteenth century, the *Giovane Scuola*: Puccini, Mascagni, Leoncavallo, Giordano, Cilea and Catalani, the last three of which are the focus of this research, as justified in the introduction.

Before looking at the individuals in the following chapters, it is useful to recall the period in which they trained and became professional musicians and their artistic *milieu* in which their musical language and heritage developed. These operatic composers, also members of the *Verismo* movement[146], were the last truly creative musicians of a distinct moment in Italian opera. These years saw the composition of a great number of operas, some of which are still part of the international repertoire more than a hundred years later. Although today's audiences show interest in *Andrea Chénier*, *Fedora*, *Cavalleria Rusticana* or *Adriana Lecouvreur*, little is known about this repertoire and its creators and the cultural setting in which they were formed.

Although the *Verismo* (or realism) movement, especially that of Mascagni, Leoncavallo and Puccini, is certainly prominent in the history of opera studies, the names of Giordano, Catalani and Cilea are often absent across the panorama of studies dedicated to the history of the opera.[147] These composers, appearing in few pages dedicated to *Verismo* and the work at the end of the century, can count on only brief descriptions of their professional activity and musical production. Indeed, few studies, but pertinent ones for this dissertation, are dedicated to the *Verismo* movement and the late nineteenth-century operatic season. Among them, I should mention Giorgio Ruberti's *Il verismo musicale*[148]*,* in which origins of the movement are identified and how it developed. Ruberti focuses on the critical reception in Italy towards the *Giovane Scuola* operas and compares the musical and literary language of the period with particular attention to Mascagni and Leoncavallo. The work also explores the role of the orchestra in *Giovane Scuola* musical production and the style of singing in that period.

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[146] Andreas Giger, "Verismo: Origin, and Redemption of an Operatic Term", in *Journal of the American musicological Society*, LX/2 2007, pp.271-315.

[147] Among the recent opera studies, I should mention a relevant and detailed history of opera by Abbate and Parker which however just mention briefly the name of Catalani overlooking other Giovane Scuola musicians: Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker*, A History of Opera, The Last 400 years*, Penguin Books, 2015. This is an example of even recent studies dedicated to the history of opera which do not explore in deep the last Italian operatic generation at the end of the nineteenth century with the exceptions of Giacomo Puccini followed by Ruggero Leoncavallo and Pietro Mascagni.

[148] Giorgio Ruberti, *Il verismo musicale*, Lucca, LIM, 2011. This book lists a relevant bibliography regarding the Verismo era and the musical context with an interesting section dedicated to the Giovane Scuola's critical reception of the time.

The author presents again, together with other researches dedicated to the operatic context of the period, a well-established axiom in musicological literature: Richard Strauss and Claude Debussy, together with the influences of French operatic composers, are those who stylistically converse with the musical language of the Italian operatic musicians of the Giovane Scuola generation.

Another significant work, on the economic, political and social context of the late nineteenth-century opera season through to its Puccini-centred finale, is *The Autumn of Italian Opera* by Alan Mallach.[149] He chronicles Verdi's final year and the subsequent stages the *Giovane Scuola* composers proceeded through, shedding light on the cultural and musical climate in Italy. Particular attention is dedicated to linking the *Giovane Scuola* operas with the musical languages of Massenet, Wagner, Strauss and Debussy. There is an investigative approach towards the *fin de siècle* Italian operatic industry, reconstructing the history of the *Giovane Scuola* publishers such as Ricordi and Sonzogno, and the narratives of composers, not only focusing on Mascagni, Puccini and Leoncavallo, but also including early twentieth-century figures like Zandonai and Wolf-Ferrari.

Another worthy study by Marco Targa is *Puccini e la Giovane Scuola*[150], where the author undertakes a deep enquiry into the late nineteenth-century operatic formula and music conventions with particular attention to the influence of Wagnerian theatre and Giacomo Puccini's operatic creations.[151]

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[149] Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera*, 2007. Another relevant study to mention which includes late nineteenth century opera season has been written by Marco Beghelli, Morfologia dell'opera italiana da Rossini a Puccini, in *Enciclopedia della musica*, edited by J.J. Nattiez, vol. IV *Storia della musica europea*, Turin, Einaudi, 2004, pp.894-921. See also Antonio Rostagno, "Nuove tipologie e gemetrie operistiche nell'opera della Scapigliatura", in *Scapigliatura Fin de Siécle,* edited by J. Streicher, S.Teramo, R.Travaglini, Rome, Ismez, 2004, pp. 209-243.

[150] Marco Targa, *Puccini e la Giovane scuola. Drammaturgia musicale dell'opera italiana di fine ottocento*, Turin, De Sono, 2012.

[151] Among other relevant studies I should also mention Guido Salvetti, *La nascita del Novecento*, Turin, EDT, 1991; *Milano e il suo Conservatorio, 1808-2002*, Milan, Skira, 2003; "Dalla Scapigliatura a Cavalleria rusticana," in *1890-1990: cento anni di un capolavoro*, Milan, Sonzogno, 1990, pp. 65-73; Jürgen Mähder, *Ruggero Leoncavallo nel suo tempo, Atti del I convegno Internazionale di Studi su Leoncavallo a Locarno, 1991*, edited by Jürgen Mähder and Lorenza Guiot, Milan, Sonzogno, 1993; *Letteratura, musica e teatro al tempo di Ruggero Leoncavallo, Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studi su Leoncavallo*, edited by Jürgen Mähder and Lorenza Guiot, Milan, Sonzogno, 1995; *Nazionalismo e cosmopolitismo nell'opera tra '800 e '900, Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studi su Leoncavallo*, edited by Jürgen Mähder and Lorenza Guiot, Milan, Sonzogno, 1998; Johannes Streicher, "Del Settecento

Notwithstanding the abovementioned studies, history has clearly dealt Cilea, Giordano and Catalani undeserved neglect. They have been presented as lesser-known, side-line figures in the Italian operatic context at the end of the nineteenth century, rather than protagonists. There is a genuine dearth of proper musicological studies into their largely misunderstood professional activity and roles in history, in particular their early studies driven by compositional schooling in which *partimento* was still an essence. While Puccini had won the veneration of musicological scholarship, other *Giovane Scuola* composers carrying the mantle of Verdi's legacy, remained understated. Puccini was indeed among a larger artistic body of composers with similar – if not identical – training, in a common artistic milieu that shared perspectives on compositional ideas and thoughts.

The *Giovane Scuola* composers began their professional activities at the end of the nineteenth century and this musical season petered out in 1915 as at the beginning of World War I. The War, together with the birth of a budding new art form – cinema – contributed not only to the quick demise of the *Giovane Scuola* years but also to operatic traditions generally. With the horrors of war, and the death of Puccini leaving a posthumous completion of *Turandot*, the *Giovane Scuola* opera season was extinguished. The *Giovane Scuola* composers impressed on the Italian music scene of the time a range of titles that had a great resonance with the people. Their artistic contribution to the culture of years following the Italian unification was immensely valued. Although each of these composers had a specific career with differences in musical and professional experiences, their training, visions and works have common

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riscritto. Intorno al metateatro dei «Pagliacci», in *Letteratura, musica e teatro al tempo di Ruggero Leoncavallo. Atti del 2° convegno internazionale di studi su Ruggero Leoncavallo*, 1995, pp. 89-102; "Scapigliatura e fin de siècle. Opere e libretti italiani dall'Unità al primo Novecento. Bibliografia," in *Scapigliatura & fin de siècle. Libretti d'opera italiani dall'Unità al primo Novecento. Scritti per Mario Morini*, edited by Johannes Streicher, Sonia Teramo and Roberta Travaglini, Rome, ISMEZ, 2007, pp. 653-764*; Ultimi splendori. Cilea, Giordano, Alfano*, edited by Johannes Streicher, Rome, ISMEZ 1999.

characteristics. Calling themselves 'masters of Italian music'[152], they adhered to three particular convictions. Despite their visions of music being open to newer avenues and experimentation, especially in the early years of the twentieth century, their visions firstly tended to be less based on abstract or theoretical principles of the emerging harmonic theoretical researches from Europe than their European peers. Secondly, the visions remained generally based in a deeply unitary tonal structure. Thirdly, the visions retained a close intimacy between their music as communication and its dramaturgical context.

We can see, therefore, how late nineteenth-century operas participated in the expression of social life as a unifying factor recalling Italian traditions. Yet this does not signify a tangible relationship between *Giovane Scuola* composers and politics or nationalism. Rather, their esteem and definition as Italian music masters is linked to the value placed on traditions with which they were formed. It is linked to the veneration (in the case of Giordano for instance) of the old master Verdi but also to the audience: to the culture of the nascent Italian unity, whose social climate was realised in the arts of the time. In fact, despite the growing cosmopolitan influences and the German and French traditions of Wagner, Bizet, Thomas or Gounod, their musical worldview was rooted in cultural and musical Italian legacy. The melodies of Verdi of whom these composers were near-contemporaries, the immortal notes of *Va'pensiero*, or a local band covering *Cavalleria Rusticana*, *Fedora* or *Tosca* were all popularly enjoyed in town squares and local theatres.

Such a vehicle for rapid dissemination made the *Giovane Scuola* widely known. Band members would participate widely in the Italian community, and this was celebrated as part of new Italian social values. The same social and artistic diffusion of the phenomenon took place in these years with the development of other arts. The development of these wandering companies, which in the rest of Europe had largely disappeared, in Italy continued to thrive and spread theatrical themes of the time. In this period, the '*famiglie d'arte*' persisted, whereby the craft was handed down from father to son and, often, the actors were also authors who would portray figures like

[152] See chapters 4 and 5.

Pulcinella as identifying beyond any regional boundaries, thereby promoting the Neapolitan language.

Singing companies at the turn of the century counted as their own certain famous Italian opera singers, such as Enrico Caruso (1873-1921), along with an entire assembly of conductors, orchestras, choristers and dancers. They extended their range both within and beyond Italian territory into Europe. In such a way, the singing style of the works of the *Giovane Scuola* and the period became a stylistic influence at least through to the end of the 1940s.[153] Dissemination occurred by other means. The fame of the operas and their authors of the late nineteenth-century seasons was similarly diffused by means of a powerful publicity mechanism: the conspicuous payments for celebrated singers and newborn phonographic producers. There are of course situational influences as well. The literary current known as *Verismo,* that originates from French Naturalism but has its own Italian strand, is linked to the actual conditions of the artistic moments of a vibrant, newly unified Italy and its values.

A second influence is literary. The earlier linguistic diversity through regional dialects and the efforts to harmonize language and communication through national unification were prevalent aspects of the social content of the nineteenth century. Authors such as Giovanni Verga (1840-1922), Luigi Capuana (1839-1915), Federico de Roberto (1861-1927) and Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911) served as catalysts for this change, contributing to the formation of a cultural climate that would directly influence themes and choices in Italian opera.

Another influence is in fine art. Impressionism in Italy reflected a lively political and social climate in which the young nation faced events, such as the rise of the *sinistra storica* (historical left wing), the death of Vittorio Emanuele II (1878) and the signing of the Triple Alliance (1889). This climate of transition and political strengthening in

153 Early nineteenth century repertoires, with some exeptions, had been largely neglected for the previous fifty plus years of the twentieth century. Singing technique had also evolved in a different way. At the beginning of the 1950s, soprano Maria Callas (1923-1977) began reviving Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini's operas followed by a renewed interest in the early-romantic repertorire between 1800-1850 from other singers and conductors who followed Callas's steps.

Italy was also expressed in the artistic-figurative development of Divisionism by Giovanni Segantini and Gaetano Previati, and in the figurative culture that was generally closely mirroring Italian society during this era of realism[154] and its artistic and musical production.

Returning to the music of the period, the emergent choral societies during the decade 1870-1880 contributed to the diffusion of both operatic works and historical sacred music[155] . Even the churches in their ecclesiastic services integrated melodies from operatic works, such as the *Cavalleria Rusticana Intermezzo* during the *Elevation of the Host* in a mass at the Orvieto Cathedral.[156]

These popular networks of sharing Italian opera and classical works brought colour to the quintessential national sentiment that fed into the development of new Italian bourgeoise values. The late nineteenth-century Italian operatic context, including the narratives and characters of the *Giovane Scuola* composers, resonated widely and intimately with most Italians. This popular patrimony persisted until the advent of cinema began to eclipse it. The Italian audience was familiar with the operatic tonal language of the Italian late *ottocento* The *Giovane Scuola* composers integrated the Italian compositional school into the patterns of their operatic works. Their operas represented a synthesis of intense, vital and creative expression of Italian culture. It was *fin-de-siècle* Italian product, par excellence.

In the following chapter, we extend our observations about their compositional practice and operatic language, but here it should be recalled that opera is also theatre. The *Giovane Scuola* compositional language and dramatic conceptions for theatrical expression suited audiences' expectations and the historically-inspired cultural *milieu*. They loved emotional drama with popular themes. The sentimental narratives with their characters and settings like small villages or churches served to reflect the society

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154 Carl Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, Oakland, University of California Press, 1992.

155 See *L'Insegnamento dei conservatori, la composizione e la vita musicale nell'Europa dell'Ottocento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Milano, Conservatorio di Musica "Giuseppe Verdi" (28-30 novembre 2008)*, edited by. Licia Sirch, M. Grazia Sita', Miriam Vaccarini, Lucca, LIM, 2008.

156 Mallach*, The Autumn of Italian Opera,* p.79.

at the time and satisfy the need for something fresh and lively but still distinctly Italian, even after the Verdian heritage.

Giovane Scuola operas thus serve as evidence for an evolving musical language. Past compositional practice was part of this need to be both modern and Italian. As Cilea and Giordano themselves expressed, they could meet audience demand delivering excellence as a commercial and artistic product reflecting the prevailing culture. Despite the troublesome political, economic and social rifts, the 'high-flying' *Giovane Scuola* and their last great Italian opera seasons were creative and refreshing cultural phenomena, laden with hope and exemplary of late nineteenth-century marketing. The *fin de siècle* Italian opera season was a commercial product diffused socially and geographically more than ever before.

2.3 The role of Sonzogno in the Giovane Scuola's production: the promotion of a musical phenomenon.

Giovane Scuola composers, such as Mascagni or Puccini, had become extraordinarily visible and popular. Their emergence as celebrities can largely be attributed to the publishers Edoardo Sonzogno (1836-1920) and Giulio Ricordi (1840-1912) and their commercial efforts in promoting talent. The Italian firm of Sonzogno was founded by Giovanni Battista Sonzogno at the end of the eighteenth century. But only from the final years of the nineteenth century, under Edoardo Sonzogno, was music publishing centrally involved in the business. Sonzogno was a remarkable entrepreneur; he was the first Italian business editor who from the 1860s released inexpensive editions of classic and modern works under the title *La biblioteca del popolo,* encompassing guides to history, science, literature and music.[157] Other important music critics such Amintore Galli (1845-1919) drove Sonzogno's engagement with the opera industry, becoming adviser to and director of the *Casa Musicale Sonzogno* until 1904. [158]

[157] It should be noted that Sonzogno himself promoted the publication of Fenaroli's *partimenti*, being aware of the importance of Neapolitan traditions in Giovane Scuola composer's such as Pietro Mascagni: Fedele Fenaroli, *Regole musicali per quelli che vogliono suonare coi numeri e per i principianti di contrappunto*, Milan, Biblioteca del Popolo, 1920.

[158] *Casa Musicale Sonzogno, cronologie, saggi, testimonianze*, edited by M. Morini, N. Ostali, P, Ostali jr., Milan, Sonzogno, 1995.

Recognising the emerging challenge of an opera repertoire that needed to compete with the golden age of Verdi and formerly Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti, Sonzogno decided to hold a national competition for new Italian operas in which young composers could have the opportunity of the limelight. Sonzogno announced four competitions in 1883, 1888, 1890 and 1902 to discover new young composers and new operas. He also needed to fill the gap that could have lured aficionados to the repertoires of French or German works. Sonzogno and Galli awarded talent with publicity, despite their ranking. Umberto Giordano, for instance, conceded first place to Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* (1888), but his talent was noted[159]. In fact, Giordano proved a solid revenue stream for the publisher over the following decade with *Andrea Chenier*, *Siberia, Marcella* and *Fedora*.

Another musician who caught Sonzogno's eye was also of the Neapolitan conservatoire, the young Francesco Cilea. His professor, Paolo Serrao, who promoted his student to the publisher in 1890, had been an important figure in operatic life. Sonzogno effectively packaged Leoncavallo, Mascagni, Cilea and Giordano and built publicity around their identification as a single 'school' on the world stage. For instance, they were all officially 'launched' at the International Theatre and Music Exposition in Vienna in September 1892, when Giordano himself recorded "I arrived here almost unknown. Now in Vienna I have become a somebody"[160] .

Giulio Ricordi and Edoardo Sonzogno dictated which operas would be performed in Italian theatres, with a power that was effectively impossible to break. Ricordi owned the rights of composers from Bellini to Verdi and then of Puccini, Franchetti and Catalani, whom they 'purchased' from a small publishing firm Lucca. Meanwhile, from 1874, Sonzogno began acquiring the rights to late nineteenth-century French composers, and in turn, to the entire remaining *Giovane Scuola* cohort: Mascagni, Leoncavallo, Giordano and Cilea. Sonzogno avoided allowing the emergence of a web of impresarios and agents, as often happens in creative industries, in an attempt to monopolise the market.

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[159] Quoted and translated by the author in Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera,* p.82.
[160]Ibidem, 84.

However, a crisis in the Sonzogno firm from 1909 following the succession of control to two nephews contributed to a crisis in the success of the composers. These circumstances that underlay the demise of *Giovane Scuola* and its opera season, along with the pending tragedy and austerity of war, and a thin operatic thread running through to Puccini's death in 1923, are all beyond the scope of this thesis.

What is significant is the abovementioned commercial and creative dynamism and fertile cultural syntheses that led to Cilea, Giordano, Catalani, as well as Mascagni and Puccini remaining integral parts of the worldwide repertory more than a century later. As Alan Mallach[161] summarises:

No other period of such short duration in any country has contributed so much to the modern operatic repertory.

In Italy, there has been nothing comparable in cultural terms since. The Italian work had cemented a dynamic relationship with its traditions, paving the way for a lively dialectic between the past traditions and the canons still alive. Indeed, the integration stimulates cultural research as an intellectual phenomenon.

To conclude, the golden years of the *Giovane Scuola*, from 1880 until 1915, significantly place the spotlight on *partimento* studies and this burst of sudden growth in Italian opera. The link between *partimento* training and its legacy in this last operatic Italian season is addressed in the following chapters.

[161] Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera,* p.337.

CHAPTER 3

ALFREDO CATALANI AND THE LEGACY OF THE ITALIAN SCHOOL

In the last of his three volumes on Verdi's life and works, Julian Budden included the following provocative aside:

> Whether, if he had lived, Catalani would have overtaken his fellow-Luccan Puccini as the front-runner of the "Giovane scuola" can only be guessed. Certain of their contemporaries, notably Toscanini, thought that Catalani had the finer sensibility of the two. [162]

This comment might surprise many music historians who consider Puccini to be the unquestioned figurehead of Italian opera in the late nineteenth century. A revision of this historical viewpoint is, however, long overdue. Puccini will rightly continue to be regarded as deserving his place in the pantheon of 'Greats'. Yet Alfredo Catalani (1854-93), one of the several prominent, successful and largely forgotten contemporaries, has been unjustly marginalized owing to a skewed version of history, which tends to favour the ideologically driven notions of technical 'progress' and spontaneous genius over the realities of commercial pressure and craft training. Pushing aside this ideological veil, the historical evidence shows that Catalani belonged to a generation of several renowned opera composers who shared a common heritage. He was one of the last heirs of a long and distinguished tradition, which included not just Puccini.

As discussed further in this and the previous chapters, one of the reasons for the decline of the centuries-long tradition of Italian opera was the gradual erosion and eventual disappearance of a specifically Italian school of composition. For over two centuries, it had enabled Italian composers to dominate European courts, chapels, and opera theatres. But, with the rise of amateur markets and the decline of traditional

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[162] Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi 3, From Don Carlos to Falstaff,* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1981), pp.289-290.

sources of patronage, it was unable to keep pace with developments in pedagogy and composition taking place elsewhere, especially in France and Germany, and is now all but forgotten. This explains in part why Catalani has for so long been afforded a minor part in the story of Italian opera as little more than a transitional figure.

According to some critics, had Catalani lived beyond his short life, he would have emerged as a more accomplished successor to Verdi than Puccini, who, in spite of powerful support from the publishing firm of Ricordi, took ten years, from *Le Villi* (1883) to *Manon Lescaut* (1893), to establish his reputation. Verdi himself, after Catalani's early death, mentioned him as 'a good man and excellent musician'. [163] David Chandler, one of the few scholars to specialize in Catalani, has translated several early books related to the composer's life and published a number of articles and essays. He puts the case for a revisionist study succinctly:

> Given Puccini's domination of the modern stage, the lazy, widespread assumption that success in art is a measure of merit, and the stale half-truths which have all too often allowed Catalani to be dismissed as transitional figure, it is always refreshing to hear a sensible case made of the older composer.[164]

This is not to say that one should seek to choose between Puccini and Catalani, to prefer one to the other. It is rather to point out that Catalani and Puccini were born just four years apart and grew up and received their musical education in the small Tuscan town of Lucca, a fact that has made facile comparisons unavoidable. Both emerged as composers at a time when Italian opera was still an essential part of cultural and social life. Because Catalani had the misfortune to die young and because his fame was short-lived outside his native land, he has become little more than a footnote in Puccini studies.[165] By observing their lives and works against an evidence-based historical

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[163] The letter to Edoardo Mascheroni (1893) is quoted in *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, Forni, 1987, p.189.

[164] David Chandler, (ed.), *Catalani, composer of Lucca*, Norfolk, Durrant Publishing, 2010, p.2.

[165] See Riccardo Pecci, *Puccini and Catalani. Il principe reale, il pertichino e "l'eredita' del Wagner"*, Centro Studi Giacomo Puccini, Premio Rotari Giacomo Puccini Ricerca, vol.1, Florence, Olschki, 2013.

backdrop, documenting the age-old theories and practices that underpinned a career as a musician at that time in Italy, it is possible to view Catalani's achievement through a new perspective. The idea that Puccini was the only serious contender among the *Giovane scuola* for the Verdian mantle is a modern fabrication, built with the benefit of hindsight. Returning to the evidence of the past allows us to construct a more balanced view of both composers, as well as their contemporaries Giordano and Cilea. Taken together, these composers constitute the last inheritors of a great tradition of Italian opera and its associated legacy of teachings. In this chapter, I argue that this school of composition was just as integral to Catalani's creative activity as it was to Puccini's, and that their operas cannot be fully understood and appreciated without reference to this shared background. Understanding the basis of their compositional practice in the particular *milieu* of Lucca in the mid-nineteenth century helps to break down the historical barriers that have built up between them. Constructing an interpretative and analytical method to engage with this repertoire on its own terms lays the foundations for a reassessment of the artistic merit of Catalani's neglected body of works.

As I mentioned in the Introduction and the first chapter, the so-called *apprendistato* (apprenticeship) consisted of a collection of rules and models common to many musicians of that period. The *partimento* and the *solfeggi* and the prevailing approaches to counterpoint were considered essential training for the study of composition. Although in the last half of the nineteenth century these traditions fell into decline, many of the same basic methods for composition remained in use. The bass motions, *partimento*, and the Rule of the Octave, for instance, were kept alive in Italy as if as witnesses to a glorious and fast-vanishing musical past.[166]

Much, however, remains to be discovered. Recent research has demonstrated just how many gaps there are in our knowledge of operatic composition during the last phase of the nineteenth century, resulting, in particular, from its previously unacknowledged dependence on older Italian traditions. In this chapter, I seek to investigate hitherto unknown details of the musical training and compositional practice of Alfredo Catalani.

[166] All the axioms of *partimento* traditions are described in the previous chapters.

At one time, Lucca's favourite musical son, who overshadowed the early career of his younger rival Giacomo Puccini, Catalani's star had waned to such an extent in recent years that few musicians could name a single one of his works. Yet, for around two decades from the 1870s onwards, his operas enjoyed substantial international renown.

The literature on Catalani is limited, for the most part unscholarly and there are not many works on Alfrerdo Catalani's and his operas. Primary sources for Catalani's early studies followed by his professional career and life are the *The First Lives of Alfredo Catalani* written by Alfredo Soffredini (1854-1923) and Giuseppe Depanis (1823-1889)[167] and *Alfredo Catalani, Composer of Lucca*[168] written by the Lucca historian Domenico Luigi Pardini (1854-1951). These two works represent a valuable addition to the Catalani studies and they are both edited and translated by David Chandler. However, these studies do not investigate the compositional practice and the partimento's legacy in the operatic composer. Rather, they explore the composer's youth, telling us his early years as a student and his life through his brief successes until his premature death. These studies enrich the composer's biographers' books with numerous details and anecdotes, but they do not provide an investigation into the pedagogic traditions and compositional training of Catalani and just explore his personal and artistic history.

Another study which should be mentioned is *Alfredo Catalani. Alla luce di documenti inediti* written by Maria Menichini.[169] This valuable work provides a detailed description of the manuscripts belonging to the Tuscanian composer kept at the musical institutes of the city of Lucca. In these manuscripts, some of the first testimonies of the young composer's musical works are described, such as the 1872 Mass, whose analysis is discussed in this chapter.
This research work was a starting point for my own research. The list of mentioned sources is however missing all new sources and the unpublished ones which I found

[167] Alfredo Soffredini, and Giuseppe Depanis, *The First Lives of Alfredo Catalani*, edited and translated by David Chandler, Norfolk, Durrant Publishing, 2011.
[168]Domenico Luigi Pardini, *Catalani, composer of Lucca*, edited and translated by David Chandler, Norfolk, Durrant Publishing, 2010.

[169] Maria Menichini, *Alfredo Catalani alla luce di documenti inediti*, Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, Lucca, 1993.

and described in this chapter. These sources, which I studied in my work on Catalani and compared with the tradition of the partimenti and sacred music of the late nineteenth century, contribute to considering aspects of the composer's training and his musical production that have not yet been explored in Menechini's study as well as in the other works mentioned here, together with the little bibliography dedicated to Alfredo Catalani.

Other works such as Paolo Petronio's *Alfredo Catalani*[170] discuss the comparison between Puccini and Catalani's music, also highlighting the latter as one of *the avant-garde* European composers for his musical training and production, along with others of his generation. Precisely, this theory, also a crucial point of other studies on Catalani such as Michelangelo Zurletti's *Catalani*[171] and the collection of essays in *Alfredo Catalani, Nel centocinquantesimo anniversario della nascita (1854-2004),*[172]is discussed and revised on the basis of documents and analysis of some of the composer's works in my research, which highlights the true nature of his training and the modernity of his music which rather resides in a constant dialogue between the past and the tradition of its time, of which the Neapolitan school was still a fundamental echo. There are hardly any analytical or in-depth studies of Catalani's music. His early works have been completely forgotten. To open up this lost repertoire for study and to shed some light on this now obscure, once thriving culture, I shall investigate the ways that music was taught to professional apprentices in Lucca during the 1850s and 1860s. Specifically, I intend to scrutinize the relevant primary sources and to discuss their significance to compositional practice. There are significant surviving primary sources related to Lucca's musical life in that period.

3.1 Musical life in the Nineteenth-Century Lucca.

To observe the Bolognese-Neapolitan legacy as received by both Puccini and Catalani, it is necessary to paint a picture of the musical climate of the city of

[170] Paolo Petronio, *Alfredo Catalani*, Varese, Zecchini editore, 2014.
[171] Michelangelo Zurletti, *Catalani*, Torino, Edizioni di Torino, 1982.
[172] *Alfredo Catalani nel centocinquantesimo anniversario della nascita* (1854-2004) edited by Beppino Lenzi, Aldo Berti, Nicola Laganá, Lucca, Tipografia Francesconi, 2004.

Lucca in the years preceding the formation of the two musicians. This involves an investigation into the curriculum and practices of the institution where they studied, the Istituto Pacini. Throughout the nineteenth century, Lucca continued to maintain an intense round of musical activities.[173] The city hosted several musical establishments, mostly connected to the church, and music could be considered an essential part of civic life. Civil and religious festivals, weddings, the arrival of important visitors and celebrations and anniversaries provided regular work for the musicians of the city. In addition to the large public theatres, staged performances also took place in private homes.

Among the hundred or so religious communities that formed the foundation of Lucchese society, there were endless liturgical activities to occupy composers in setting vespers, masses, motets, etc. Michele Puccini, the father of the famous Giacomo Puccini, for example, was publicly commended in 1845 for his *mottettone* or 'grand motet'. The archives in Lucca contain large quantities of similarly old-fashioned sacred music by Puccini and Catalani as well as less well remembered contemporaries. The church, rather than the opera theatre, remained the primary source of employment for musicians in Lucca until at least the final decades of the nineteenth century.[174]

During the Bourbon years of the early nineteenth century, a music school was founded in Lucca, which quickly became the standard place to educate future musicians such as Fortunato Magi, who went on to take up an appointment there and to teach Puccini, Catalani and numerous other musicians. It was set up by the two most important city churches in 1818, the San Martino Cathedral and San Michele in Foro:

> Their sudden interest in maintaining control over music education appears to have been inspired by the start of construction of a new theatre, which opened two years

[173] See Fabrizio Guidotti, *Musiche annue ed avventizie in una cittá di antico regime. Lucca al tempo dei primi Puccini,* Lucca, Edizioni Pacini Fazzi, 2012.
[174] Musical life in the 19th century in Lucca is explored in older specific sources related to the music traditions in this city: Luigi Nerici, *Storia della Musica in Lucca*, Bologna, Forni 1879; Giulio Battelli, *I tesori della musica lucchese*, Lucca, Ed Maria Pacini Frizzi, 1990; Adelmo Damerini, *L'istituto musicale Pacini in Lucca*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1942.

> later as the Teatro del Giglio. Scandalized, it seems, by the thought that exposure to operatic music might corrupt their young scholars and debauch their congregation, the church fathers sought to uphold moral standards by preserving the purity of the liturgical musical traditions.[175]

For these reasons, musical training in Lucca was very conservative and progressive influences were frowned upon. Thanks to the arrival in 1835 of Giovanni Pacini, at that time an internationally renowned opera composer, the music school was transformed from a local service into a high quality educational establishment. In 1842, Pacini officially opened it as an Istituto musicale, taking up the positions of director, professor of composition and director of the associated Chapel. The professors of the Chapel were required to work as masters at the music institute as well.

Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867) was born in Catania, Sicily, to a family of Tuscan origin. He was educated initially by Luigi Marchesi (1754-1829) and later by Saverio Mattei in Bologna. Thanks to his training with Mattei, Pacini's professional skills provided a solid foundation not only for his work as a composer of operas but also for his lessons at the Instituto musicale.[176] His teachings drew directly on the conservative Bolognese traditions, framed largely during the previous century. Indeed, Pacini's educational mission was grounded on a belief in the need to preserve what he called the 'sacred flame' of Italian music, by which he meant not just a national culture, but also its profound connections with the church. In recommending a list of great maestros for the students of the institute to study and emulate, he made this allegiance clear:

> Maestro Padre Mattei, student of the celebrated Maestro Padre Martini, Furlanetto, student of the great Vallotti, Asioli, Santucci, Raimondi, Quilici, those who, like custodians of the sacred flame, passed on the true principles, based on ecclesiastical music, to posterity.[177]

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[175] Baragwanath, *The Italian Tradition & Puccini*, pp.49-50.
[176] More details are in Giovanni Pacini, *Le mie memorie artistiche*, Whitefish Montana, Kessinger Publishing, 2010.
[177] Quoted in Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini,* p.52.

Sacred music continued to form the main object for studies in counterpoint during Catalani's student years. The church still provided the main source of employment for musicians in Tuscany in the nineteenth century. Even musicians who were not destined for a professional career in ecclesiastical service (such as Puccini and Catalani) began their apprenticeships by working on motets, masses and other liturgical genres. This could be used to explain the significant influence of ecclesiastic style and a maestro di *canto ecclesiastico* (ecclesiastic music teacher) such as Luigi Nerici, at the Seminario arcivescovile di San Martino. Nerici was convinced of the value of studying ecclesiastic music and authors such as Gemignani, Gasparini, Vallotti, Martini and Mattei who represented Bolognese and Paduan *partimento*'s methods. Nerici's teachings clearly underpinned the *musica antica* and *partimento* influences as essential training for his students.

> And here I shall finish, in the hope that I have demonstrated through this history that the art of music, the most beautiful of the arts, was born in Italy together with the Church, was brought up and nourished by the Church, and since becoming an adult has wandered throughout the world carrying the song and the name of Italy to foreign peoples.[178]

Catalani went on to finish his studies in Milan, because his ambition to become an opera composer could only be realized by leaving behind the dusty old church traditions of Lucca and by gaining access to a whole new world of French and German opera that had already begun to overshadow the Italian tradition.

[178] The quotation taken from Luigi Nerici's *Storia della Musica in Lucca* (1872) is mentioned in Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*, p.56: 'E qui finisco sperando di aver dimostrato colla storia alla mano, che l' arte musica bellissima tra le arti, e' nata in italia insiem colla Chiesa, cresciuta ed allevata dalla Chiesa, finche' divenuta adulta, ha fat oil giro del mondo portando il canto ed il nome Italiano alle straniere genti'.

3.2 The Heritage of *Partimento* and *Solfeggi* in Lucca: The Puccini Dynasty

The most important musical dynasty in Lucca, from the early eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth, was the Puccini family.[179] For this reason, the numerous manuscript sources attributed to the various maestros of the dynasty, which are mainly preserved at the *Istituto Boccherini*, the direct successor to the *Istituto Pacini*, offer a glimpse into the kind of music studied and produced during the time of Catalani's apprenticeship. They were an important resource for the study of composition at the time, and they provide evidence of the kind of techniques in use. Among the most significant such sources are autograph lessons by Michele Puccini (1864-91), brother of the far more famous Giacomo, held at the Museum of Celle and dated c. 1880. They contain exercises on figured bass drawn from Arcangelo Corelli's *Sonata a Tre* op. 4 (1694), which differ little from similar exercises dating from two centuries earlier. Saverio Mattei described this practice of copying and emulating the work of past *maestros*:

> The masters, instead of instructing the young to sing the psalms of Marcellus, and the music of Scarlatti, Leo, and Durante, immediately begin to sing them rondoncini and French guitar canonetti, without the study of the originals, without following in the footsteps of great masters, there is no path to progress. Is it possible to be a musician if one has never studied the classical writers of sacred and secular music, if one walks without a guide?[180]

In 1852, Pacini ceded his position of director and professor to Michele Puccini, father of Giacomo, whom he entrusted to continue to preserve the traditional basis of the

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[179] More detailed biographies of these musicians are given in Domenico Corsi, *La dinastia dei Puccini*, in *Giacomo Puccini nel centenario della nascita*, Lucca, Lorenetti and Natali, 1958 and Alfredo Bonaccorsi, *Giacomo Puccini ed i suoi antenati*, Lucca, Curci editore, 1950.

[180] 'I maestri invece (...) di far cantare ai giovani i salmi di Marcello, le carte di Scarlatti, di Leo, di Durante, cominciano subito a far cantare loro dei rondoncini e dei canonetti da chitarra francese: Senza lo studio degli originali, senza seguire le orme dei grandi Maestri non si va avanti (...). Che può fare chi non ha mai studiato i classici scrittori di musica sacra e profana e s'incammina senza guida e a capriccio?'in Filippo Arriva, *Il conservatorio di musica San Pietro a Majell*a, Naples, Editalia, 1996, p. 37.

curriculum in Lucca. One of the most important texts for learning the craft of composition, from then on until the end of the nineteenth century, was Michele's compilation of teachings entitled *Corso di Contrappunto* ('Course of Counterpoint', 1846)[181]. It is a significant source of information on what Catalani would have learned because it was one of the main sources to study counterpoint at the Instituto. [182] Michele drew on a number of Bolognese and Neapolitan sources from the past fifty or so years for his course of instruction, in addition to older manuscripts belonging to the Puccini family library. This contained material dating as far back as the sixteenth century, as well as handwritten teachings passed down since the first maestro of the dynasty, Giacomo senior (1712-81).

A *Repertorio di Musica*[183] written by Antonio Puccini in 1818 reveals the precise contents of the family archive. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this archive was the main musical resource of the city, initially located at the S*eminario di S. Martino*. It contained several treatises from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, as well as *La salita al Parnasso* (1761) by Johann Joseph Fux, *L'Armonico pratico al Cimbalo* (1708) by Gasparini, *Regole per accompagnare ed elementi di Contropunto* (a manuscript copy and undated) and *La Storia della Musica* (1776) by Padre Martini, and *Trattato di contrappunto fugato* (1827) by Mattei.

Antonio Puccini's library gave Michele Puccini the opportunity to study the major works of Western music theory. The following list[184] only contains a few examples from the extensive collection of texts. However, it will help us to understand the importance of Puccini's library and the significant influence through the musical education in Lucca. The list included:

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[181] Michele Puccini, *Corso pratico di contrappunto da Michele Puccini per uso d'suoi allievi*. Ms: Museo Puccini in Celle, Pescaglia, 1846.

[182] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini,* 2012.

[183] Fabrizio Guidotti, "La Biblioteca di casa Puccini e il suo catalogo: Il Repertorio di musica di Antonio Puccini (1818)", in Guido Battelli, *I Tesori della musica lucchese: fondi storici dell'istituto musicale "L. Boccherini". Catalogo della mostra documentaria*, Lucca, Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1990, pp.38-44.

[184] A description of this manuscript and a first investigation was made by Deborah Burton, Michele Puccini's counterpoint treatise, in *Quaderni pucciniani*, Lucca, Istituto di studi pucciniani, 1996, p.174.

Aaron
Lucidario in musica (1605)
Toscanello in musica (1539)
De institutione harmonica (1516)

Nicola Vicentino (1511-1575)
L'antica Musica ridotta alla moderna pratica (1555)

Giuseffo Zarlino (1517-1590)
Istituzioni armoniche (1573)

Vincenzo Galilei (1520-1591)
Dialogo della musica antica e moderna (1602)

Giovanni Artusi (1540-1613)
Seconda parte dell'Arte del Contrapunto (1589)

Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727)
L'Armonico pratico al Cimbalo (1708)

Giuseppe Paolucci (1661-1730)
Arte pratica di Contrapunto (1772)

Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770)
Trattato di Musica secondo la vera scienza dell'Armonia (1754)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)
Dictionaire de musique (1768)

Bonifazio Asioli (1769-1832)
Trattato d'armonia
Dialoghi sul secondo Trattato (n.d.)

Mattei's Bolognese teachings were central to music training in Lucca, and thus to Catalani's early development. They were brought to the city initially by Domenico Puccini, who was *maestro di cappella* in the service of Elisa Bonaparte. As a student of Mattei, Domenico was responsible for establishing this tradition in Lucca, although earlier maestros of the Puccini dynasty also had close connections with Bologna. Michele (1813-64) studied at first with his grandfather and then in Bologna, from 1834 to 1837 with another student of Mattei, Giuseppe Pilotti (1784-1838). [185] After this, he finished his studies in Naples from 1839 to 1840 with Saverio Mercadante (1795-1870) and Donizetti. He was a member of the *Accademia Filarmonica* of Bologna. Michele was also the *maestro* of Carlo Angeloni (1834-1901) and Fortunato Magi, (1839-1882), who later became the main teachers of his son Giacomo (1858-1924). Catalani underwent a similar course of instruction as Michele Puccini and his son Giacomo[186] and it is clear that playing the organ was considered a basic and essential skill for all musicians.[187] He must have studied *partimento*. He was among the last musicians from Lucca to inherit a solid education based on traditional *basso continuo* and, as we shall see in the following paragraphs, on a foundation of the Neapolitan school.

One source calls for particular attention. Michele Puccini's hand-written 'Practical Course of Counterpoint' (1846) is representative of the kind of teachings and exercises used at the *Instituto Pacini* during the 1860s. It allows us to appreciate the pedagogic traditions that were essential for Catalani's musical training, as well as Puccini's. Carlo Angeloni – student of Michele Puccini and *maestro* at the Istituto musicale – obtained this manuscript when teaching at the Institute, thus making it possible for Catalani to inherit that tradition of learning.

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[185] See: *La famiglia Puccini. Una tradizione. Lucca e la musica*. Edited by Simonetta Puccini and Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, Milano, Tipogragia Campi, 1993.

[186] Significant details and relevant documents on Catalani and Puccini's student years at the Istituto musicale of Lucca are observed in *Puccini e Lucca, "Quando sentiro' la dolce nostalgia della mia terra nativa"*, edited by Gabriella Biagi Ravenni and Giulio Battelli, Lucca, Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 2008.

[187] The importance of sacred music and organ tradition in Lucca is explored in Franco Baggiani, *Organi e organist nella cattedrale di Lucca*, Lucca, Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1982. Another relevant study is *Giacomo Puccini organista. Il contesot e le musiche*, edited by Fabrizio Guidotti, Firenze, Olschki editore, 2017.

Deborah Burton discussed clarifies the origin, provenience and details regarding this relevant source:

> Puccini's treatise supplied a completely organised programme of study perfectly adapted to the latter five years of training. As a professor of 'accompaniment', he taught the practical aspects of this curriculum (the hands-on keyboard skills) from the simplest scales and cadences, to complex double fugues. Puccini also interpolated some exercises preparative to ecclesiastic functions, reflecting both the strong ties between the Institute and the Church, and his own preference for sacred music. It is quite unusual that, even though the existence of this treatise was known, there was no record of its location. It is not listed in the Institute's inventory of 1852 […] nor did Michele Puccini append it to the catalogue of the Puccini's home library, although he did add other theoretical and musical works. [188]

The struggles faced in printing Puccini's notebook lie in the fact that the author never finished his work. The examination of the work confirms that there are parts which were never completed, such as empty pentagrams with a specific numeration but without examples. The manuscript belonged to the Angeloni's heirs up until the twentieth century[189], and now it is a part of the music library at Puccini Museum at Celle. An exhaustive exploration of the content of the *Corso Pratico* remains outside the scope of this chapter.[190] My intention here is only to call attention to some of the guidelines that it offered and upon which Catalani relied to develop his compositional skills.

Figure 1a) reproduces the first page of the Corso which clearly reproduces the most elementary and essential base of every tonal structure for students' lessons: the cadences. Michele Puccini classified the three types of cadences according to the Neapolitan pedagogy: *Cadenze semplici* (simple cadences) with one metrical unit on the dominant, *Cadenze composte* (compound cadences), which are based on two metrical units and the use of a 4-3 suspension on the dominant and cadenza doppia

[188] The story of this manuscript and its rediscovery and purchase until present is described in Deborah Burton, *Michele Puccini's Counterpoint Treatise*, (1996), pp.175-176.
[189] Burton assesses that it remained in Angeloni's family until 1979, p.176.
[190] In order to obtain a deeper understanding of Puccini's operas, Baragwanaths provides examples to show the legacy between Puccini's early works and Michele Puccini's Corso which is fully described in the above-mentioned book *The Italian Traditions &Puccini*, pp.164-166.

(double cadences) which have four metrical units on the V and abote 5/3, 6/4, 5/4, 5/3. Once again, the classification of cadences follows the Fenaroli standard version.

This manuscript confirms one more significant detail which will be strictly connected with Catalani's studies: the predominant role in counterpoint lesson of scales. Figure 1 reproduces also thirteen scales in the major and minor keys of C, according to the guidelines of Mattei and Fenaroli. Interestingly, these two masters' exempla will be part of Catalani's notebooks which I will explore in the following paragraph.

Figure 1. (a) Michele Puccini, *Corso di contrappunto* (1846), *Cadenze.*



Figure 1. (b), Michele Puccini, *Corso di contrappunto, Scale.*

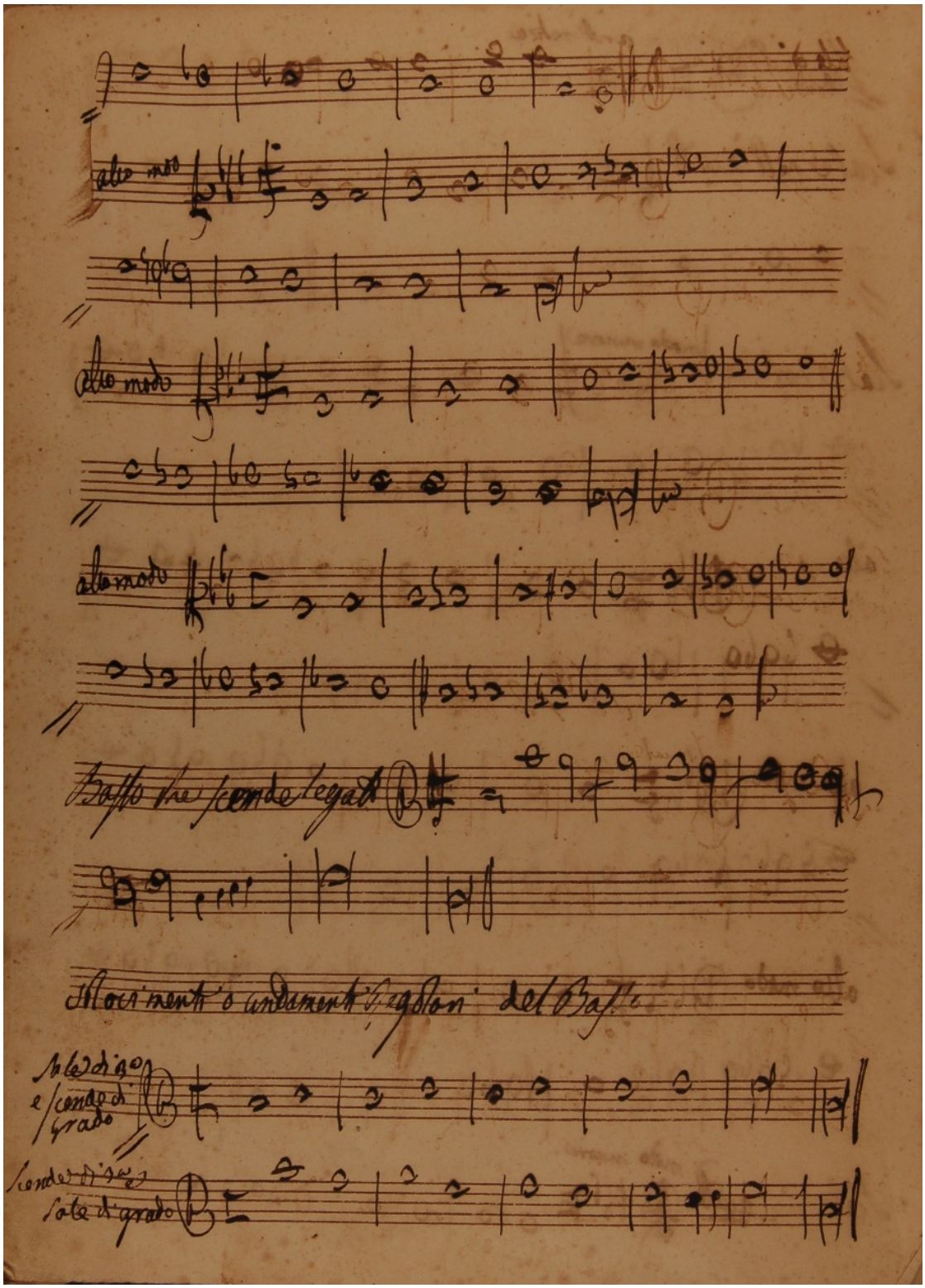
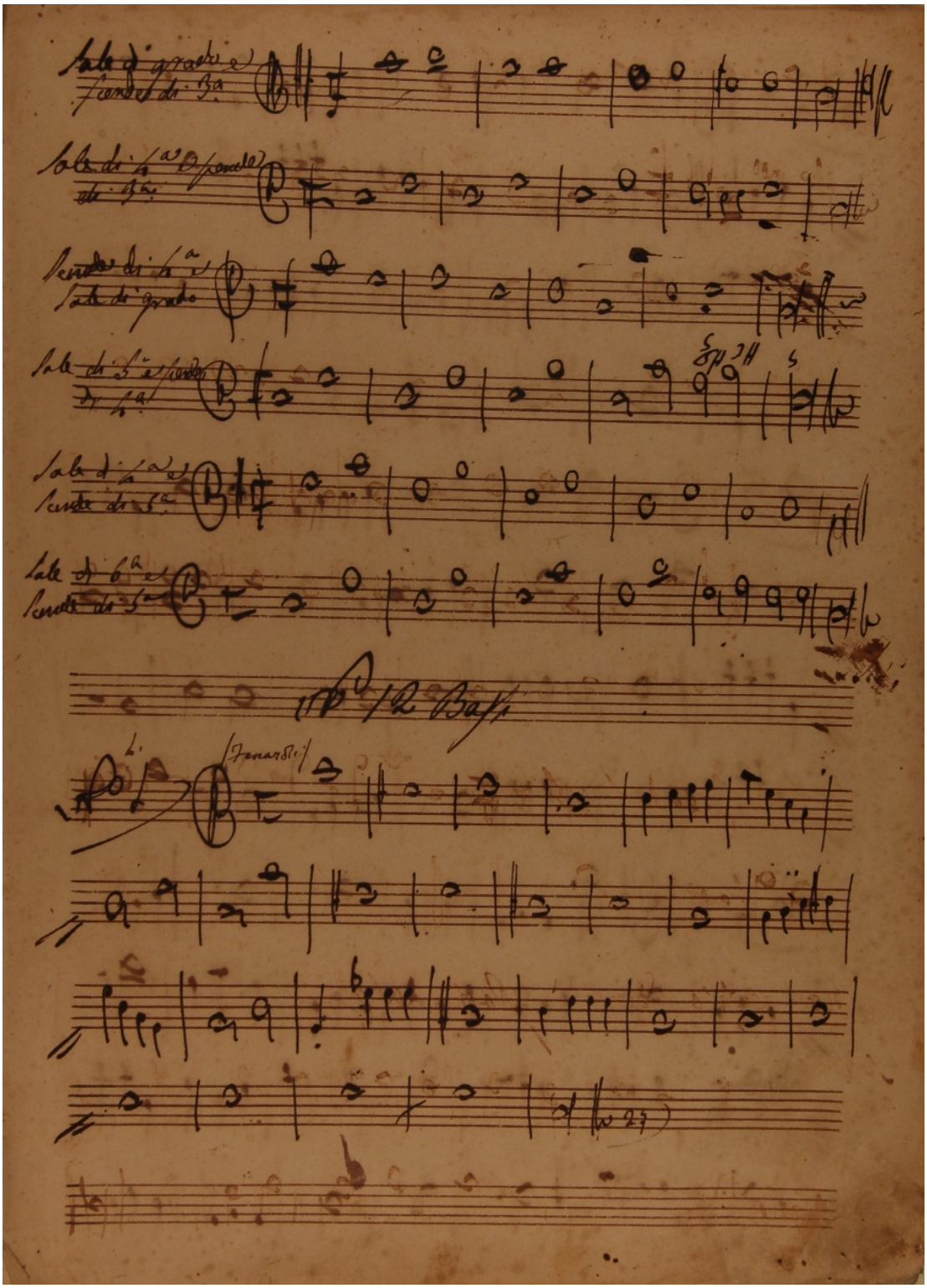


Figure 1. (c), Michele Puccini, *Corso di contrappunto*, *Moti del basso.*



Patterns based on scales were essential to contrapuntal study in Lucca,[191] and this explains why Michele Puccini provided his students with a number of such traditional examples. Moreover, Figure 1b and figure c show the *Movimenti o andamenti regolari del basso* (the motions of the bass), followed by a section dedicated to bass lines – including some examples from Fedele Fenaroli.[192] In these examples, it is possible to recognize one of the most traditional patterns used by Italian composers: the motion of the bass *falling by fourth and rising by step,* which has been described in the previous chapters. It is intriguing to observe how many of these patterns, such a *Romanesca*, will serve to help a multitude of pedagogical needs and will be part of Catalani and Puccini's skills. Examples of this legacy will be discussed further.

Further examples of bass motions are included in the syllabus of Michele Puccini: The sequential process of disjunction bass motions includes bass which *sale di terza e scende di grado* (rising by a third and falling by step), *scende di terza e sale di grado* (falling by a third and rising by step), *sale di grado e scende di terza* (rising by step and falling by a third), *sale di quarta e scende di terza* (rising by a fourth and falling by a third), *scende di quarta e sale di grado* (falling by a third and rising by a fourth*), sale di quinta e scende di quarta* (rising by a fifth and falling by a fourth), *sale di quarta e scende di quinta,* (rising by a fourth and falling by a fifth), *sale di sesta e scende di quinta* (rising by a sixth and falling by a fifth). To complete this brief analysis of this unpublished but significant source, I shall describe the last parts of the manuscript which includes:

- twelve *bassi* (basses)
- six soprano-clef *solfeggi* to be realized in two parts
- twelve *disposizioni*
- twenty-four *bassi con semplice disposizione* (basses for simple realization)
- fifteenth *bassi con disposizione ricercata ed imitative, e fugata (*basses for contrapuntal, imitative, and fugal realization

[191] More details and primary sources are described in Baragwanath, *Italian Traditions and Puccini,* pp.41-65.
[192] Fedele Fenaroli, *Partimenti ossia Basso numerato di Fedele Fenaroli*, Forni Editore, Milano, 1978; *Regole musicali per i principianti di cembalo*, Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, Napoli, 1755.

- twelve *canto fermi* (choral themes)
- nine *intonazioni*
- two hundred and thirty-seven *temi, o soggetti per le fughe* (fugues themes).
- One hundred and sixty-five *soggetti doppi* (themes for double fugues).

Michele Puccini's advice to his student elucidates the will to teach following the Bolognese and Neapolitan traditions, according to the *exampla* of Mattei, Fenaroli, Sala and other esteemed masters.

> All the scales in the bass and in the upper part, all the regular bass motions in the lower and upper parts, as specified in the Study for two voices. *[...]*.

The Corso also prescribes the approach to study counterpoint for four voices:

> All the scales in both the bass and soprano voices, ascending and descending including major and minor modes, all the bass motions in both lower and upper parts, as suggested in the section regarding the Studies for two voices[193].

This brief but close examination of this overlooked *compendium*, might help us to understand Alfredo Catalani's counterpoint lessons.

Let us briefly return to Alfredo Catalani's studies and masters. We know that the musician was born in Lucca on 19 June 1854. His birth certificate refers to the fact that he was baptised in the church of San Frediano on 20th June and given the forenames Giovanni Enrico Alfredo Felice. A few of Catalani's biographers report that he began to learn the elements of composition from his father, Eugenio Catalani. Eugenio taught privately at the *Regio Collegio* and in 1850 became an Associate of the Confraternity of Santa Cecilia.

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[193] The Italian rule is described in Michele Puccini's *Corso*: *Tutte le scale nel grave, e nell' acuto, tutti I moti regolare del Basso, nel grave e nell' acuto come nello Studio a 2.' Tutte le scale sí nel grave come nell' acuto, a salire e scendere in modo maggiore, e minore. Tutti I movimenti regolari del Basso sí nel grave come nell' acuto, come addietro nello Studio a 2",* pp. 4-5.

Alfredo's father was a music teacher who had studied with the composer Giovanni Pacini. Despite being such a famous master, Eugenio[194] never had a distinguished reputation as a musician[195]. Eugenio taught privately at the *Regio Collegio* and in 1850 became an Associate of the Confraternity of Santa Cecilia. It was logical that Eugenio privately educated the young Catalani in music using the same methods that Pacini had passed on to him. In the Catalani family, a vocation for music had been transmitted from the father to son such that Alfredo's grandfather Domenico very likely trained Eugenio in piano and composition. Domenico was a teacher and a pianist in Lucca as well.

As I mentioned before, the musical attitudes of the young Catalani were entrusted to one of the most able contrapuntists of his time, Fortunato Magi. [196] Fortunato Magi was born in Lucca on 6 October 1839 and died of brain disease in Venice on 27 May 1882. As has been well-documented, he studied music and counterpoint under his brother-in-law Michele Puccini and after this preparatory years he composed a great quantity of sacred works and music. [197]

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[194] Eugenio Catalani (1825-1883).

[195] Details can be found in Domenico Luigi Pardini, *Alfredo Catalani composer of Lucca*, with Firsthand Accounts of Catalani by Giovanni Baptista Nappi and Raffaello Barbiera, translated by Valentina Relton. Edited, annotated, and introduced by David Chandler, Durrant Publishing, 2011, pp. 29-40.

[196] More details on the life and works of Fortuanto Magi can be found in: Gabriella Biagi Ravenna, "I Dorati, musicisti lecchesi, alla luce di nuovi documenti d'archivio: Premessa Bibliofrafica", in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia, vol.7, no.1*, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana,1972; Agostino Cerú, *Cenni storici dell'insegnamento della musica in Lucca dei più notabili compositori che vi hanno fiorito*, Lucca, Editore Tip. Giusti, 1871, p.190; Luigi Nerici, *Storia della musica* in Lucca, 1879; Carlo Righini, Il liceo musicale 'Gerolamo Frescobaldi' di Ferrara, Felice, Florence, Le Monnier, 1941, pp.33-90; Alfredo Bonaccorsi, *Giacomo Puccini e I suoi antenati*, Milan, Curci, 1950, pp.97-100 and *Maestri di Lucca. I Guami e altri musicisti*, Florence, Olschki, Coll. Historiae Musicae Cultores, 1967, p.141-150; Michele Girardi and Franco Rossi, *Il Teatro la Fenice, Cronologia degli spettacoli*, 1792-1936, Venice, Marsilio Albrizzi, 1989, XXXI, pp. 267-270; Giulio Battelli, "Giacomo Puccini all'Istituto Musicale G. Pacini", in Gabriella Biagi Ravenni, Carolyn Gianturco and Jacopo Pellegrini, *Giacomo Puccini. L'uomo, il musicista, il panorama europeo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi su Giacomo Puccini nel 70 anniversario della morte, Lucca, 25-29 novembre 1994*, Lucca, Letteratura Musicale Italiana, 1997, pp.3-21; Matteucci, *La fine di una tradizione secolare: i cambiamenti musicali nelle chiese lucchesi dopo il motu proprio di Pio X del 1903*, University degree dissertation, Universita' di Bologna, 2003; F.Rossi, "Dall'Archivio storico del teatro 'La Fenice': il re di Lahore: l'India sbarca in laguna", *in Le Roi de Lahore, programma di sala*, Teatro la Fenice, 2004-2005, Venice, 2005, pp.147-159, Schmidl, *Dizionario universale dei musicisti*, II, p.8.

[197] Among his works, remarkable compositions are: *Dixit, Domine, Magnificat a 2 cori e orchestra, mottetti con orchestra, 4 lamentazioni per voce e pianoforte (o armonio*). He also wrote operas included *I tre rivali, L'onore di una donna, Le ultime ore di Francesco Burlamacchi, l' azione sacra Esther*. I should mention that seven sinfonias included a *Sinfonia sull'inno reale, Saluto al Re d' Italia* and one *Preludio per vari strumenti*.

After Pacini became Director of the Istituto Musicale, he also took up posts in Sarzana, La Spezia and Ferrara, until he was finally nominated Professor of Harmony and Counterpoint and Artistic Director at the Liceo Benedetto Marcello in Venice. As professor and director, he held these positions for five years, from 1877 to 1882. [198] These words were pronounced at the composer's funeral on 29 May 1882 and they fully sum up the high esteem felt towards him by his colleagues and students:

> Magi was endowed with a complex and spiritual temperament which facilitated his great aptitude for music. This temperament, combined with an opposite and meticulous study of the music of the old masters, and in particular of the masterpieces of sacred music, put to good use at a very early age, enabled him to win plaudits later in life from admirers both in Italy and abroad. He became known in the musical institutions of his hometown, Lucca, as well as those of Ferrara and Spezia, for his accomplished music, and many of his compositions testify to his thorough technique in counterpoint. And when Venice's liceo Marcello was founded, it was he who was chosen to teach his subject, which he knew so well, and in this post, he was held in high esteem.[199]

One of Catalani's early biographers, Domenico Luigi Pardini, argues that there are no proof/evidences that Catalani studied with Carlo Angeloni because no official document exists about his studies with this teacher. Surely, the young Catalani learnt in depth the rules of composition with one of the most refined maestri of his time:

> The historian interested in researching the musicians of Lucca cannot neglect the work of Fortunato Magi, who, having been one of Michele Puccini's most promising students, was appointed Director and Professor of the prestigious Istituto Musicale Pacini. He brought a breath of fresh air to other similar institutions where he taught, his career culminating with the post of Artistic Director at the Benedetto Marcello Conservatory of Music in Venice.[200]

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[198] Among others, this is a list of musicians who studied under Fortunato Magi: Antonio de Lorenzi Fabris, Candido Radi, Giulio Tirindelli, Francesco De Guarnieri, Gino Buzzolla and the conductor Silvio Boscarini.

[199] The speech concludes with these words: 'He was also most highly regarded for his kindly disposition and genial ways while performing his onerous duties at the helm of the newly founded institution, a position he maintained with great ability and uncustomary devotion". This excerpt is quoted in Pardini, Alfredo Catalani, *Composer of Lucca*, pp.92-93.

[200] Pardini, *Alfredo Catalani, Composer of Lucca*, p.36.

His heavy training is testified by a rare and illuminating autograph source which documents his pedagogic methods: the Catalani's *Corso di Contrappunto*[201] which I will describe in detail below. As observed in chapter one, these written sources, documenting the operatic composers' training learning to work out musical techniques, ideas and preparing the base of their compositional practice, can often provide crucial insights into the pedagogic traditions and the musical thoughts which influenced their creative process as professional composers.

Presenting in this chapter the study of this unpublished material such as Catalani's *Corso di contrappunto* as detailed case studies, I highlight how the legacy of *partimento*, of the past sacred music studies and of the general Neapolitan compositional school rules were essential in their operatic works as an integrated dialogue with the past. New criteria may have to be developed and considered in order to properly examine Giovane Scuola's creative process in which borrowing and dialogue with the past, with this ubiquitous and mutual compositional practice for operatic composers of their time, is an essential element to consider. Because these traditions were closely bound to their art, as observed in this dissertation, these rare documents from Catalani, Cilea and Giordano early studies show us that the embryonic ideas and musical cells learnt during their apprenticeship could have been used as expressive colours, thoughts or artistic *credo* inside their operatic musical passages.

The elementary musical structures learnt in Catalani's *Corso* or in Cilea's notebooks were recognized by the artist as a significant legacy to include in their operas. My aim is to demonstrate the pertinence of these discovered sources for the analysis of specific passages from their opera and the importance of partimento tradition still alive in their creative years. Catalani's *Corso*, for example, seeks to provide an opportunity to examine issues and questions arising from the study of the last Italian operatic composers and the music theory itself of their time.

As explained in the first chapter, these precious documents and the musical analysis of this dissertation will not provide answers to all questions or solve all problems, but

[201] Alfredo Catalani, *Corso pratico di contrappunto* (Lucca, 1871-72), MS: I-Mcom.108

they contribute to understand how their training and these traditions were related to Giovane Scuola composers and how their compositional process was connected to theoretical questions of their time.

The illustrations and detailed descriptions of Catalani's documents, as well as Cilea and Giordano in the following chapters, show how these important autographs can be used to better understand their compositional processes. This is, in fact, the first work in any language that attempts to deal with Catalani's early sources and issues, investigating the partimento traditions in his compositional practice and questions surrounding them. While providing an exploration of these traditions that will help the musicological studies and further researches to confront the perspectives of the late nineteenth century pedagogic traditions, this work also introduces the rich inheritance of the past of the late nineteenth century.

From this perspective, these examinations and the link between student years, analysis, history and music theory of the time can be seen. The reader will be exposed to this investigation in the following paragraph and chapters.

3.3. Catalani's *Corso di contrappunto*: A New Source on Late Nineteenth-Century Italian Counterpoint

During a lengthy period of study in the archives in Naples, Milan and Lucca, locating and examining manuscripts, sketches, treatises and autograph notebooks, I came across an important manuscript which had been catalogued but never before analysed. It was an autograph notebook of counterpoint exercises written by Alfredo Catalani while he was a student in Lucca. In this chapter, I aim to provide an account of this significant source for late nineteenth-century music theory, in particular *partimento* traditions and compositional pedagogy at that time. Moreover, this fascinating source offers an insight into the continuity between Catalani's training in the 1870s and 1880s and his much earlier methods. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain whether or not there are any similarities with Puccini's counterpoint studies in Lucca, because his notebooks are lost. This makes Catalani's *Corso* even more valuable, since it presumably contains the same methods of study that Puccini received when he was a

student. Both composers studied in the same institute using the same resources, which included Michele Puccini's handwritten *Corso pratico* (1846) and works by other older masters.

As we saw in the second chapter on pedagogical traditions in late nineteenth-century Italy, the Tuscan town always guarded its conservative musical traditions to preserve the methods that had guaranteed jobs for local musicians since the time of Giacomo's ancestors. As I have argued previously, the scale lies at the core of Italian pedagogy, in Naples as well as in the Bolognese traditions of Padre Martini and Stanislao Mattei. As a bass line, the scale was fundamental to learning counterpoint, but it could also take the place of a *cantus firmus* in other parts of the texture. Every *partimento* student was required to practice scales to acquire a complete knowledge of elementary counterpoint exercises. As Fedele Fenaroli clearly pointed out:

Those who want to learn quickly how to play fluently with the figures, must study fervently the scales in all keys, and in all three positions[202].

Catalani's notebook follows the five species of counterpoint associated most conspicuously with Johann Joseph Fux, who popularised this approach in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725). This method was one of the most influential teaching systems of the eighteenth century. Its connections with the Neapolitan school have been clarified by van Tour. [203] For instance, the species counterpoint used by Fux is similar to the method used in Nicola Sala's *Regole* (1794). The Italian translation by Alessandro Manfredini was published in 1761, with a dedicatory letter of recommendation by Nicola Piccinni, who defined Fux as a 'German full of Italian sensibility'.[204]

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[202] Fenaroli (1775); cited in Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 116.

[203] The link between Fux's Gradus in Naples and the Neapolitan counterpoint is fully explored in Peter van Tour, *Counterpoint and Partimento. Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*, pp.193-199.

[204] 'Non poteva V.S. Molto Reverenda rendere migliore servigio agli Amatori della musica, di quello, che á fatto ridonando alla pubblica luce il dottissimo Trattato del Fux, il quale gia' era divenuto rarissimo. Merita egli per ogni conto il nome di esattissimo Scrittore. Perciocché á ragionato della Scienza armonica con tale accuratezza, che ben può dirsi un Tedesco pieno di senso Italiano […]. Bene si avvisò egli ancora di trattare la sua materia per la via dei Dialoghi, ne' quali vedesi con diletto un Principiante, che passo passo s'inoltra nella conoscenza dell'armonia, e quasi senza avvedersene esce di Scuola Maestro. Ma che vado in aggirandomi intorno ai pregi del Fux? Io stesso ne ho conosciuta a buona prova l' utilita' quando me ne fu caldamente raccomandato lo

This Chapter does not aim to study the influence of Fux upon Neapolitan counterpoint teaching, but rather to investigate all influences regarding Catalani's notebook. The findings on Catalani's training are relevant also to Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano, whose notebooks will be analysed in the following chapters. [205] Catalani's *Corso* draws upon both Bolognese and Neapolitan approaches, in particular Fenaroli, Mattei and Michele Puccini. The first part is divided into five sections, in accordance with the five counterpoint species:

Prima specie di Contrappunto a Quattro parti sopra la scala e sopra un canto obbligato (First species counterpoint in four parts, above the scale and above a given melody)

Seconda specie di Contrappunto a Quattro parti sopra la scala e sopra un basso obbligato (Second species counterpoint in four parts, above the scale and above a given bass)

Terza specie di Contrappunto a Quattro parti sopra la scala e sopra un canto obbligato (Third species counterpoint in four parts, above the scale and above a given melody)

Contrappunto di quarta specie a Quattro parti sopra la scala e sopra un canto obbligato. (Fourth species counterpoint in four parts, above the scale and above a given melody)

Contrappunto florido o di 5a specie a Quattro parti sopra la scala e sopra un canto obbligato (Fifth species or *florid* counterpoint in four parts, above the scale and above a given melody)

---

studio dal celebre Professor Durante, il quale gia' in Napoli mi fu Maestro di Musica; e a un buon bisogno potre dire a quell' Autore, come alla musa diceva Orazio: Si placeo tuum est. I giovani adunque nati in Italia all' Arte dell'Armonia portati, non si stanchion di rileggere il Fux, e di esercitarsi ne' di Lui precetti quando saranno pervenuti al grado di Professori, sará loro di piacere grandissimo quella singolare Opera, che il dottissimo Padre Martini á con tanto onore dell' Italia ultimamente condotta a termine'. This letter, here in my own translation, is preserved in the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna. More details about this letter and Fux can be found in the preparatory text to the Bärenter edition of *Gradus ad Parnassum* by Fux, published in 1958.

[205] Reproductions of the original sources are shown in chapters 5 and 6.

In each of these sections, Catalani approaches the study of species counterpoint in 4 parts, firstly against ascending and descending scales, and subsequently against a 'canto obbligato', one or more *cantus firmi* very likely given to him by his teacher Fortunato Magi, which consist of rhythmically neutral melodic lines in semibreves, in either bass or soprano. Each species corresponds to the practice of a specific note value assigned to one of the four voices, while the remaining voices (both the *canto obbligato* and the 'free' voices) remain as semibreves.

The first species consists of semibreves against semibreves, the second species of minims against semibreves, the third species of crochets against semibreves, the fourth species of minimums tied across bar lines to form dissonant suspensions on the downbeats. The fifth and last species is also called *contrappunto fiorito* (florid counterpoint): it is the only species where all voices but the *canto obbligato* can be treated freely, with the composer allowed to choose from a selection of rhythmic values, including quavers. This was the most virtuosic and technically demanding species of counterpoint. In later sections, Catalani extends these exercises to five, six, seven and eight-voice counterpoint, in keeping with the *contrappunti* of Mattei. Indeed, if we compare these exercises with Mattei's *Pratica d'accompagnamento sopra bassi numerati e contrappunti a più voci sulla scala maggiore e minore* (1788/1825), it becomes clear that in both sources the scale takes precedence as a canto obbligato, although Mattei names them differently (figure 2). Mattei also incorporates a hybrid 'third' species, which sets the scale or given melody in semibreves against three notes in the counterpoint (crotchet, minim, crotchet).

Figure 2. Stanislao Mattei, *Pratica D'Accompagnamento sopra bassi numerate e contrappunti a più voci sulla scala maggiore e minore*, (1825). Ex.1

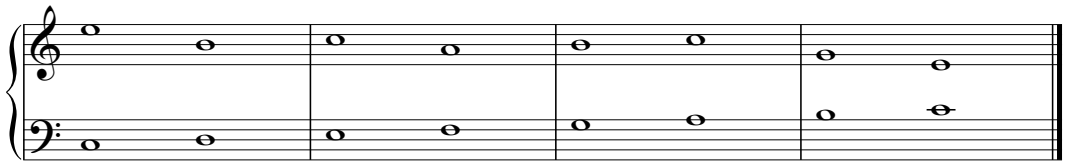


Figure 3. Stanislao Mattei, *Pratica D'Accompagnamento sopra bassi numerate e contrappunti a più voci sulla scala maggiore e minore*. Ex.2



It is interesting to note that Mattei treats the counterpoint far more freely than Fux, if Fux's rules are to be followed to the letter. For instance, here in the second species exercise (Figure 3), the second bar has more than two consecutive leaps in the same direction. This practice, through which arpeggiations can be formed, was frowned upon in the strict church style. Similarly, the third species counterpoint below in Figure 4 manifests two consecutive leaps in its fourth bar and a few dissonant intervals on strong beats.

Figure 4. Stanislao Mattei, *Pratica D'Accompagnamento sopra bassi numerate e contrappunti a più voci sulla scala maggiore e minore*. Ex.3

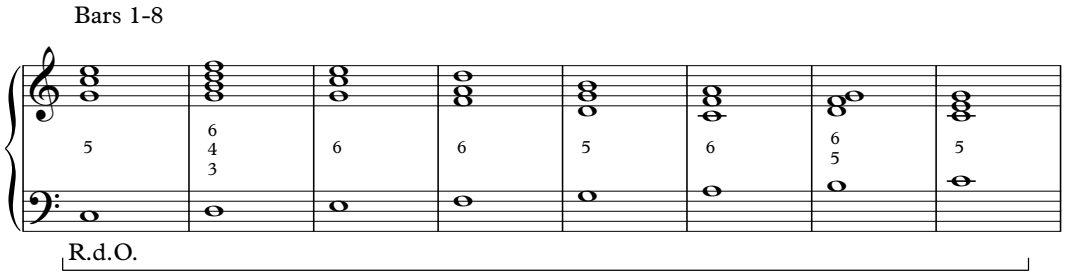


As discussed above, Mattei was the teacher of Pacini, the founder of the conservatory in Lucca, and this tradition seems to have reached Catalani almost unaltered. Many of these exercises also bear the hallmarks of Asioli's contrapuntal exemplars, in part two of *Il maestro di composizione* (1836). In Catalani's *contrappunti alla scala* first exercise, (figure 5), it can be observed that the realisation of an ascending or descending scale in the bass very often follows closely the Rule of the Octave.

Figure 5. Alfredo Catalani, *Corso Pratico di Contrappunto*, *Contrappunto a sei parti*, (1871-72), bb. 1-16.



Figure 6. Alfredo Catalani, *Corso Pratico di Contrappunto*, *Contrappunto a sei parti*, Ex.1, bb. 1-8, Analytical Reduction.

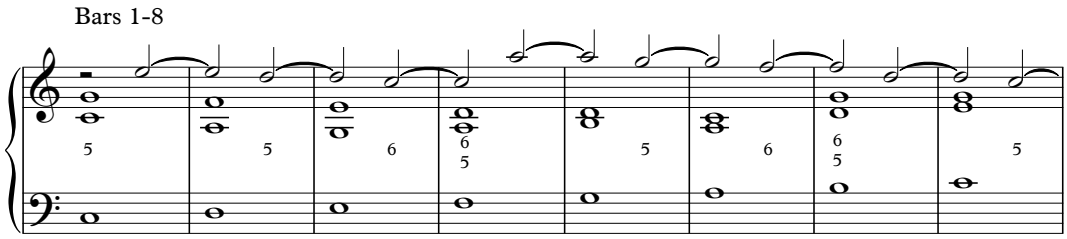


In those instances where, instead, Catalani departs slightly from the Rule of the Octave, realizing the second scale degree with a 5/3 instead of a 6/3 or 6/5/3, a reference model can be found in the teachings of Mattei, among other treatises, more than three generations before Catalani.

Figure 7. Alfredo Catalani, *Contrappunto a Quattro parti*, Ex.2. bb. 1-16.



Figure 8. Alfredo Catalani, *Contrappunto a Quattro parti*, Ex.2, bb. 1-8, Analytical Reduction.



The relation of Catalani's exercises to Mattei's *contrappunti alla scala* is not limited to instances where the scale is in the bass voice. Even when the scale is assigned to the top voice in fifth species, and therefore with many harmonic and contrapuntal possibilities for the realization of the exercise, one of the resulting realizations by Catalani closely resembles one of Mattei's realizations in the same species, as shown in Ex.7.

Figure 9. Alfredo Catalani, *Contrappunto a Quattro parti*, Ex.2, bb. 1-4.

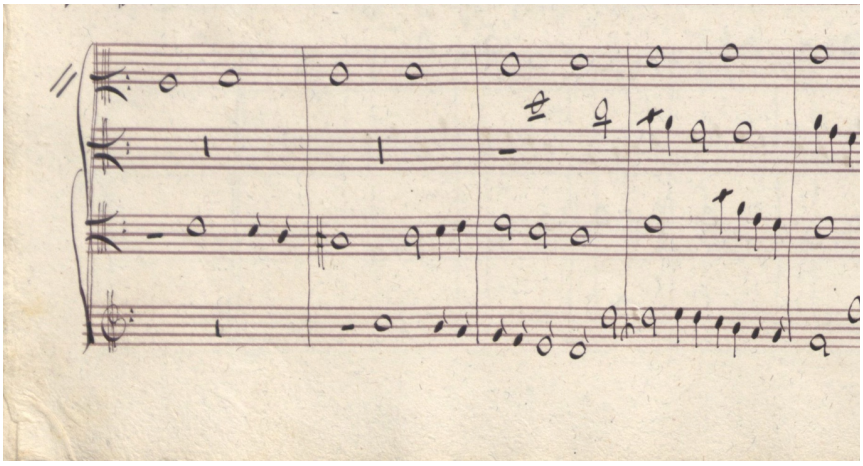
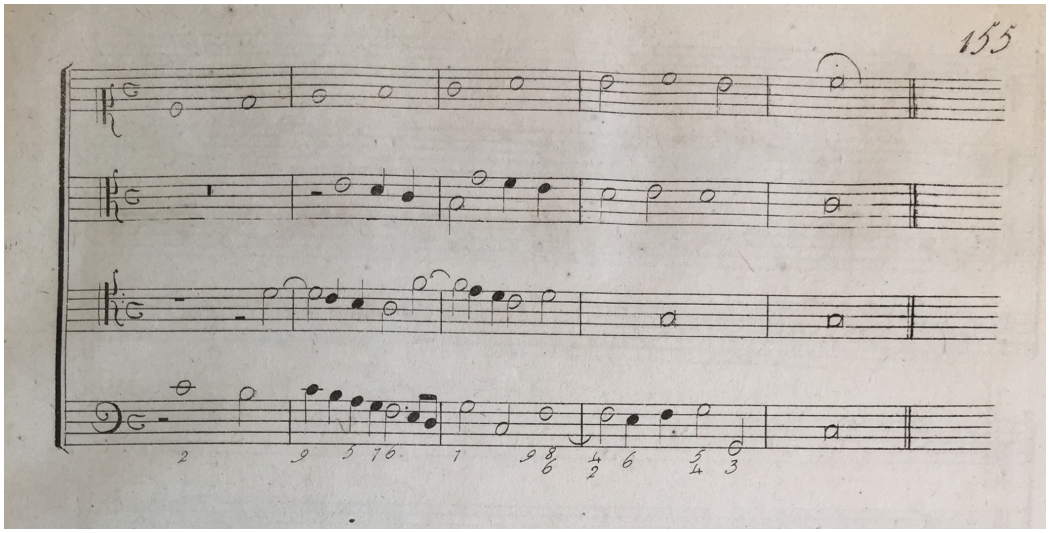


Figure 10. Alfredo Catalani, *Contrappunto a Quattro parti fiorito*, Ex.3, bb. 1-5, Analytical Reduction.



Figure 11. Mattei, *Pratica D'Accompagnamento sopra bassi numerate e contrappunti a più voci sulla scala maggiore e minore.* Ex.3



This correlation provides evidence that the impact of these teachings, generation after generation, contributed to a genuine heritage of knowledge and skills that deserves to be credited as a school of composition. Catalani's *Corso di contrappunto* also includes further sections with realisations of *Bassi* taken from the masters Fenaroli, Sala and Mattei, among others. Analysing these sections beyond the use of the scale in the bass line, it is possible to observe frequent occurrences of patterns familiar from *partimenti* and cadences. It is predictable that basses by Fenaroli and others would include schemata common to *partimenti*. Presumably, they were placed there deliberately as a means of teaching students how to realise them. I shall put forward a few examples below.

A second position ascending scale in the top voice is often realized as *a Do-Re-Mi* pattern, whereas a descending one would have this pattern reversed as a *Mi-Re-Do*, with the same bass (Do Si Do) and harmonic realization. Figures 11 and 12 show the pattern occurring in both fashions.

Figure 12. Alfredo Catalani, *Contrappunto a Quattro parti*, Ex. 4, bb.1-15.

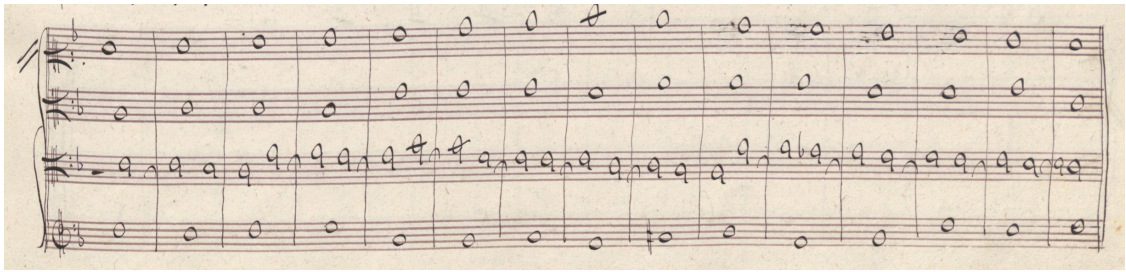
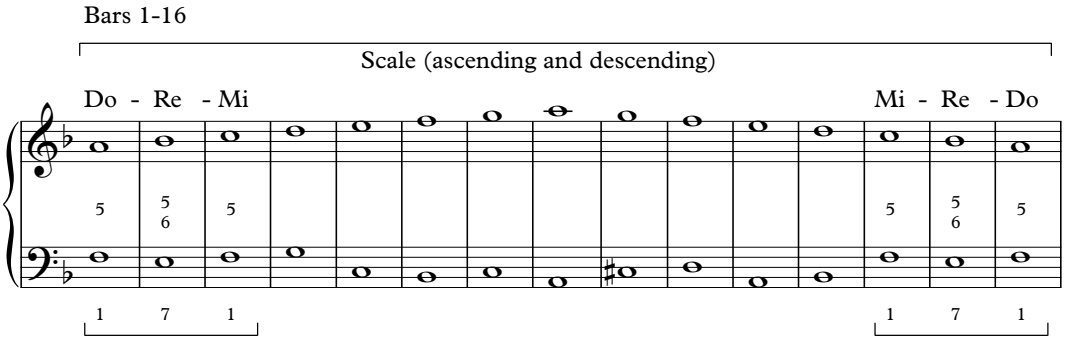


Figure 13. Alfredo Catalani, *Corso Pratico di Contrappunto*, Contrappunto a Quattro parti, bb.1.16, Ex.4, Analytical reduction.



The following *basso* in Figure 14 below, belonging to Fenaroli, is structurally based on the partimento *basso che scende di terza e sale di seconda* (bass falling by third and rising by step). In bars 1-8, the florid bottom line is imitated by the soprano, while the alto and tenor both sing a descending scale alternating the steps down.

Figure 14. Alfredo Catalani, *Corso Pratico di Contrappunto*, Bassi per imitazione, p. 32, bb. 1-8.



Figure 15. Alfredo Catalani, *Corso Pratico di Contrappunto*, Bassi per imitazione, bb. 1-8, Analytical Reduction, bb.1-8.



Fenaroli's *bassi* appear to have been thoughtfully conceived to enable the student to practice the partimenti. In Figure 15 below, the bass opens with a section of the descending chromatic scale, realized according to the rule that Sanguinetti describes as belonging to Fenaroli.[206] The scale, consisting of consecutive degrees from 1 to 5, is later transposed in several keys throughout the bass, touching upon the dominant and the super dominant.

Figure 16. A. Catalani, *Bassi per imitazione*, Ex.2, bb. 1-6

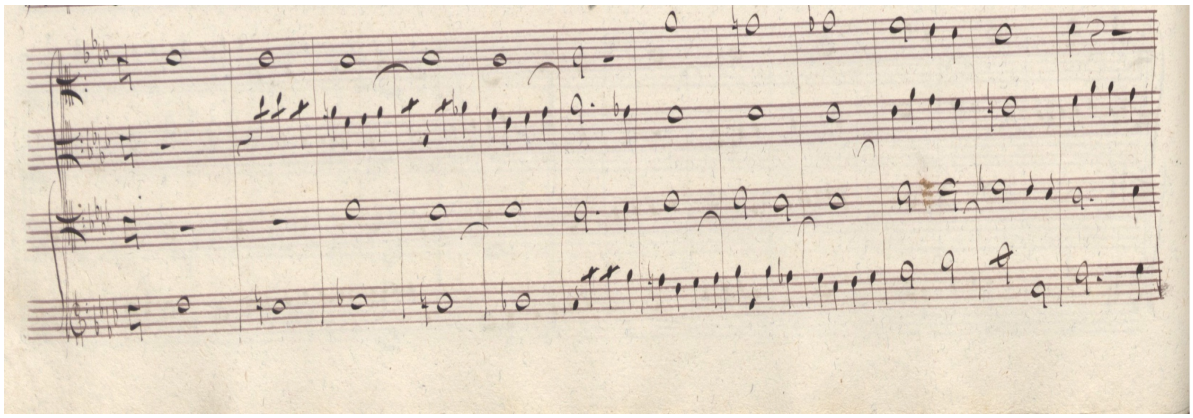
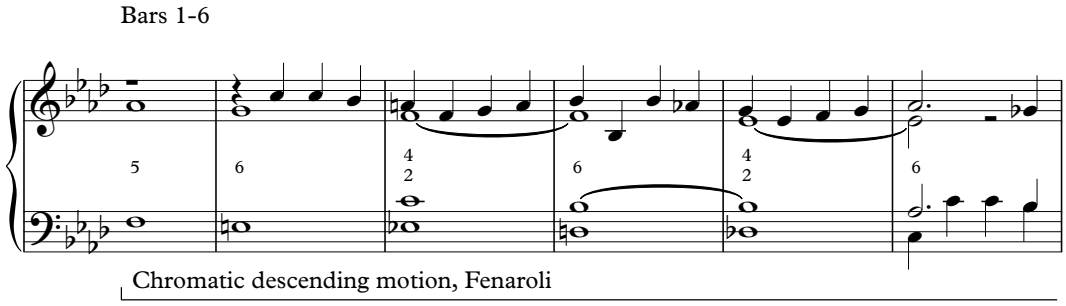


Figure 17. A. Catalani, *Corso Pratico di Contrappunto*, *Bassi per imitazione*, Ex, 2, Analytical Reduction, bb. 1-6.



In this chapter, I intended to scrutinize this rare and unstudied sources related to Catalani and the music theory of his time.

[206] Sanguinetti, The Art of Partimento, p.146.

The Neapolitan teaching methods provided a deep knowledge of counterpoint and *partimento* tradition. During these years of studies, apprentice composers such as Catalani would acquire this tradition by investing time and effort in the daily realisation of bass and *contrappunti sopra la scala e sopra il canto obbligato*. These patterns would eventually become an integral part of their compositional language. In the following section, I will analyse how this background is present in Catalani's later works as an accomplished composer.

3.4 Alfredo Catalani and the Partimento Tradition.

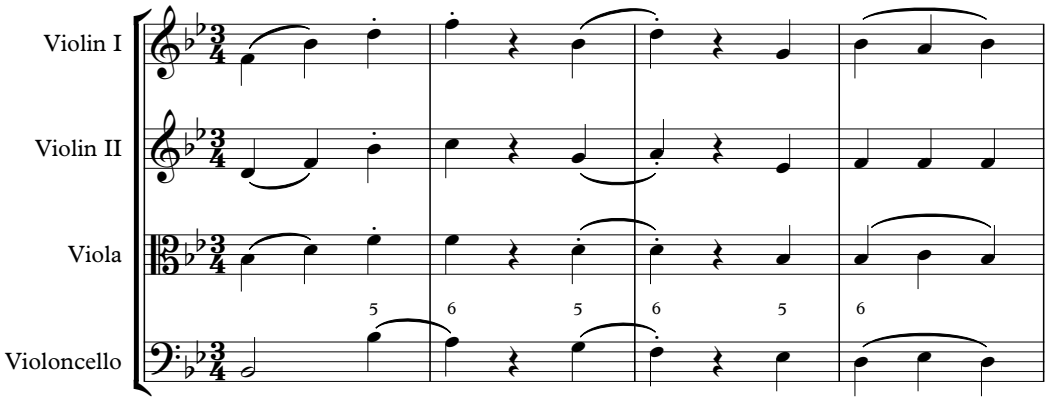
As I mentioned above, Alfredo began his official apprenticeship at the *Instituto* in 1863 under the supervision of Magi and graduated in 1872. In the previous sections, I have offered a cursory outline of Catalani's background. But how was this school of composition integral to Catalani's creative activity? The answer to this question is to be found in his music. I will demonstrate that an analytical approach to his works can show how these century-old traditions remained very much alive into the 1880s. The previous section constitutes the principal material basis for the discussion of whether and to what extent the study of Catalani's studies documents were pertinent to the analysis of his musical creations.

We observed in chapter one that, strongly influenced by the German romantic idealism, even the current musicological studies could have difficulties in understanding the value of these mere notebooks to better consider a structural analysis of operatic works. However, the Neapolitan school in the training of Catalani was deeply influential of the Giovane Scuola master. As mentioned above, the Neapolitan school of counterpoint developed skills by adding patterns over a bass moving by leaps. This was a procedure that required the repetition of schemata through constant practice by the composer. One of these exercises comprised the mentioned bass movement of the *falling fourth and rising step*[207], counterpointed by a descending scale in melody. It appears in Michele Puccini's course of instructions (Figure 1 a-b-c) and is known nowadays as the *Romanesca* bass.[208]

[207] See chapter 1.
[208] According to sources from Diego Ortiz (1553).

Through his studies, Catalani would certainly have become familiar with this pattern and its various applications. The evidence of this can be found in several examples of both his instrumental and vocal music. At the beginning of the Trio section, (movement Scherzo, Allegro vivo, figure 18) of his string quartet, *Quartetto in la maggiore per archi* (1873), Catalani employs it, adapting the leaping variant to a ¾ time signature. Starting on the third beat of bar 3, the descending scale of Bb (grades 1 to 5, Bb-A-G-F) is harmonized with the typical 5-6-5-6, alternating chords in root position with first inversions.

Figure 18. Catalani, *Quartetto in la maggiore per archi*, (1873), Scherzo, (Trio section), bb-3-6.



Of significance for my argument is the fact that just such a schema was employed in Catalani's music with the same traditional functions, such as that of introducing an *aria*. In one of the first of Catalani's operas performed at the Teatro alla Scala, *Dejanice* (1883), with a *libretto* by Angelo Zanardini, a Romanesca bass is exploited in the aria of Argelia, "La stessa voce eterea, i sensi miei colpì" at the beginning of the first act.[209] Figure 18 shows the vocal score of the passage, together with the Romanesca bass in my analytical reduction.[210] (Figure 19).

[209] Baragwanath, 183

[210] When I refer to the steps of a scale, I use Arabic numbers for features of the melody; the numbers are collocated up the notes. In describing the chords, I adopt the roman numeral system (I, IV, V, etc.)

Figure 19. Catalani, *Dejanice*, (1883), Act 1, Aria *Di Apollineo nel tempio*, bb. 9-12 and Analytical Reduction.



This pattern was preserved through its inclusion in standard lessons and in compositions for the church throughout the eighteenth century and until the late nineteenth century. Similarly, *Romanesca* patterns were employed at the beginning of many sacred works; for instance, the famous *Salve Regina in fa Maggiore* by Nicola Porpora (1686-1786). The *Salve Regina* is a Marian hymn and one of the four Marian antiphons of the Catholic liturgical calendar. From the middle Ages, it was one of the most prevalent sacred texts for musical setting and in the nineteenth century composers in Lucca, such as Catalani or Puccini, still used to learn and practice the composition of sacred music with it.

The Romanesca was actually exploited by Lucca's composers as Puccini before their first operatic compositions. It was used in one of Puccini's first sacred works, composed during his years of training: The *Salve Regina*, dated around 1878-1880. It is transcribed in Figure 19, with an analytical reduction highlighting its Romanesca. (Figure 20).

Figure 20. Puccini, *Salve Regina*, (1878-1880), bb 1-8. and Analytical Reduction.



I would like to consider one more example of a typical lesson deriving from the old Italian school which continued to exert an influence on compositional practice into the 1880s and beyond. It concerns the single schema for the entire scale, the Rule of the Octave. It is not surprising that this guideline allowed students to master a rapid harmonization of the scale and to acquire skills in improvising extemporaneously[211]. Composers of sacred music were familiar with this schema, which permitted them to improvise all manner of simple transitional passages at the organ during religious services.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the RdO can be divided into segments. Fragments of the Rule, usually involving scale degrees 1-3-4-5, can become *long cadences*, which are typical Neapolitan axioms of composition. They could also become *cantus firmi* in the study of counterpoint. Using *cantus firmi* as a means of teaching species counterpoint was, in Lucca, as well as in Bologna, a method used by every composer employed in church services. Counterpoint in Lucca in the 1860s was still taught routinely using methods based either on *partimenti* and *solfeggi* or on the *cantus firmus*.

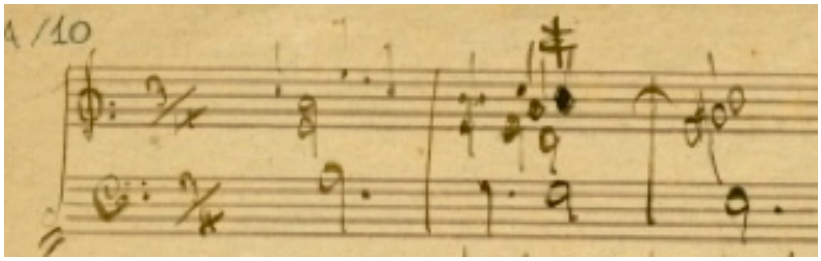
[211] Ludwig Holtmeier, *Heinichen,"* Rameau and the Italian thoroughbass tradition. Concepts of tonality and chord in the rule of the octave", in *Journal of Music Theory 51/1*, 2007, pp. 5-49.

An interesting case can be observed in an exercise by the younger Michele Puccini, dating from his years as a student. An autograph by Puccini called *Esercizio di Armonia, Realizzazione di un basso in la minore*[212] and dated 1885 (Figure 21 (a)) testifies that the young Puccini was working on a bass which started with a typical descending segment of the scale, as shown in Figure 21 (b).

Figure 21. (a), Michele Puccini, *Realizzazione di un basso in la minore*, 1885.



Figure 21. (b).

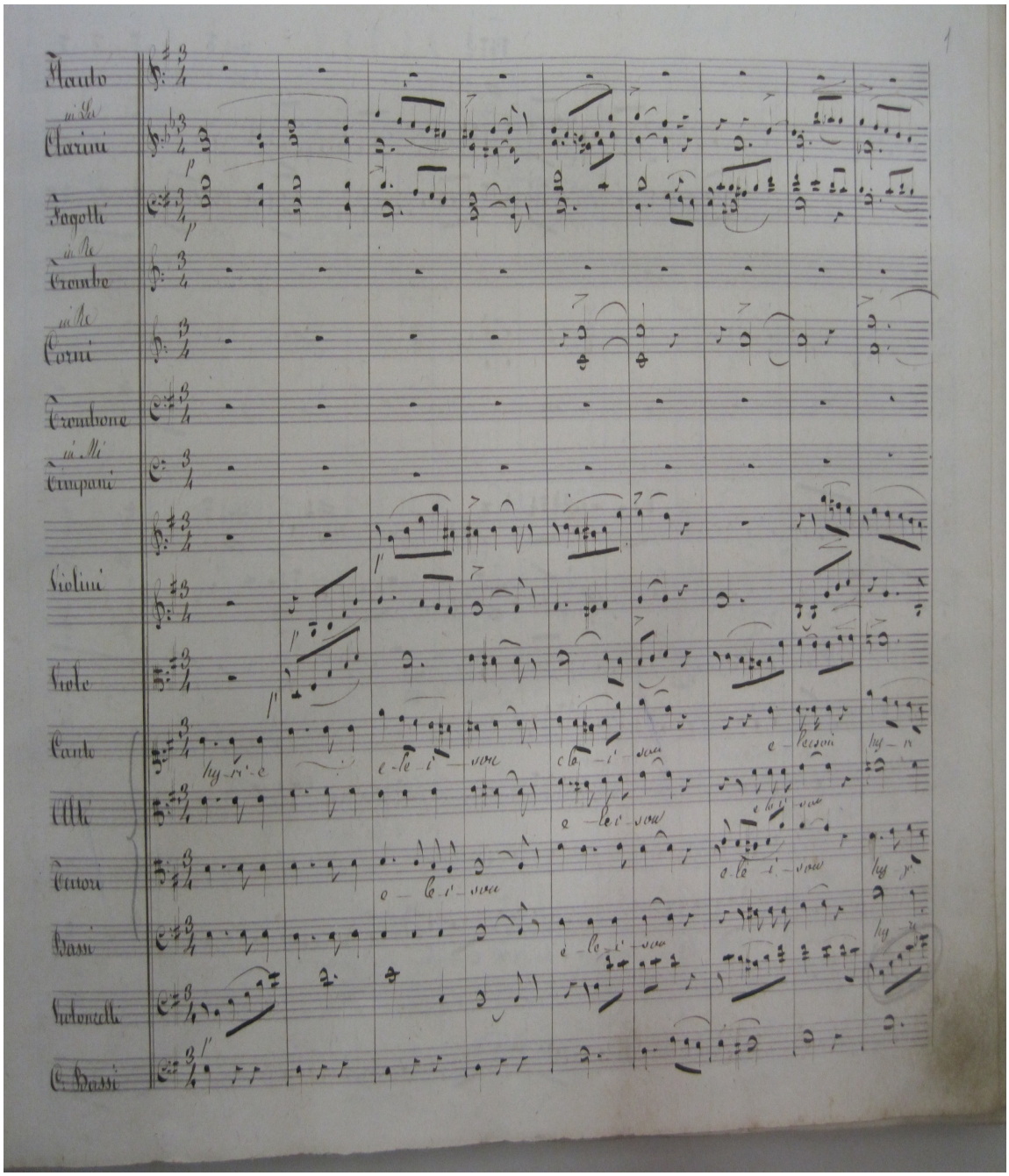


[212] Michele Puccini, *Esercizi di Armonia; la minore. Realizzazione di un basso*, 1885. Museo di Celle dei Puccini, Pescaglia. I-PS Cmp; Manoscritti Musicali, A.10

For a final example testifying to the legacy of older Italian composition methods in Catalani's music, I turn to one of his earliest sacred works, the Mass for Four Voices and Orchestra, which was premiered in Lucca Cathedral in May 1872. It is currently unknown. I discovered the original manuscript in the library of the *Instituto Musicale Boccherini* in Lucca.

This once acclaimed work is an important example of just how important the conservative Italian traditions remained in the 1870s in Tuscany, as well as in Naples or Bologna. Figure 22 shows the first page of the original manuscript. In my analytical reduction, (Figure 23), I demonstrate the appearance of a typical descending fragment of the RdO (with a suspension of the sixth, *ritardo della sesta*), including a long cadence I-V. Even a cursory knowledge of the RdO could enable the public to recognize this familiar and conservative schema, so widely used in church music by composers and students.

Figure 22. Catalani, *Messa a 4 voci per Orchestra*, 1872, Kyrie, bb.1-9.



In several passages of the *Messa*, regular bass motions can also be observed and be regarded as partimenti patterns. These are arrangements and embellishments of the motions shown in Michele Puccini. In bars 85-91 of the *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, (Figure 23) Catalani employs a *basso che scende di quinta e sale di quarta*, with all chords in root position as prescribed by Michele Puccini's model, as shown in my analytical reduction in figure 24.

Figure 23. Catalani, *Messa a 4 Voci per Orchestra*, *Kyrie*, Analytical Reduction bb. 1-4.

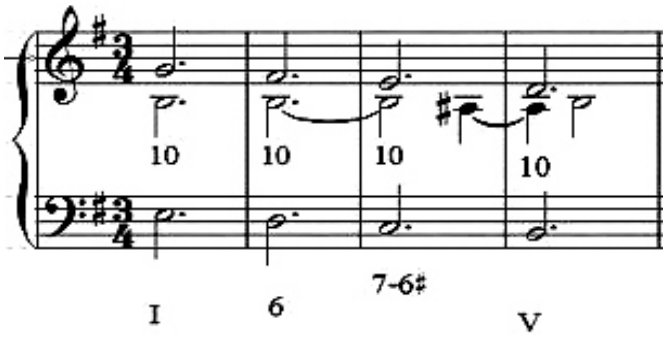
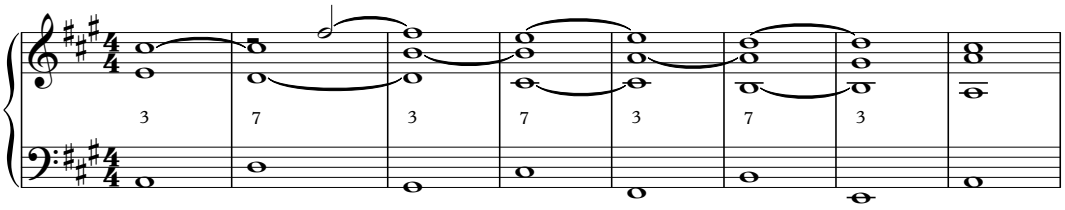


Figure 24. Catalani, Messa (1872), *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, bb. 85-90.



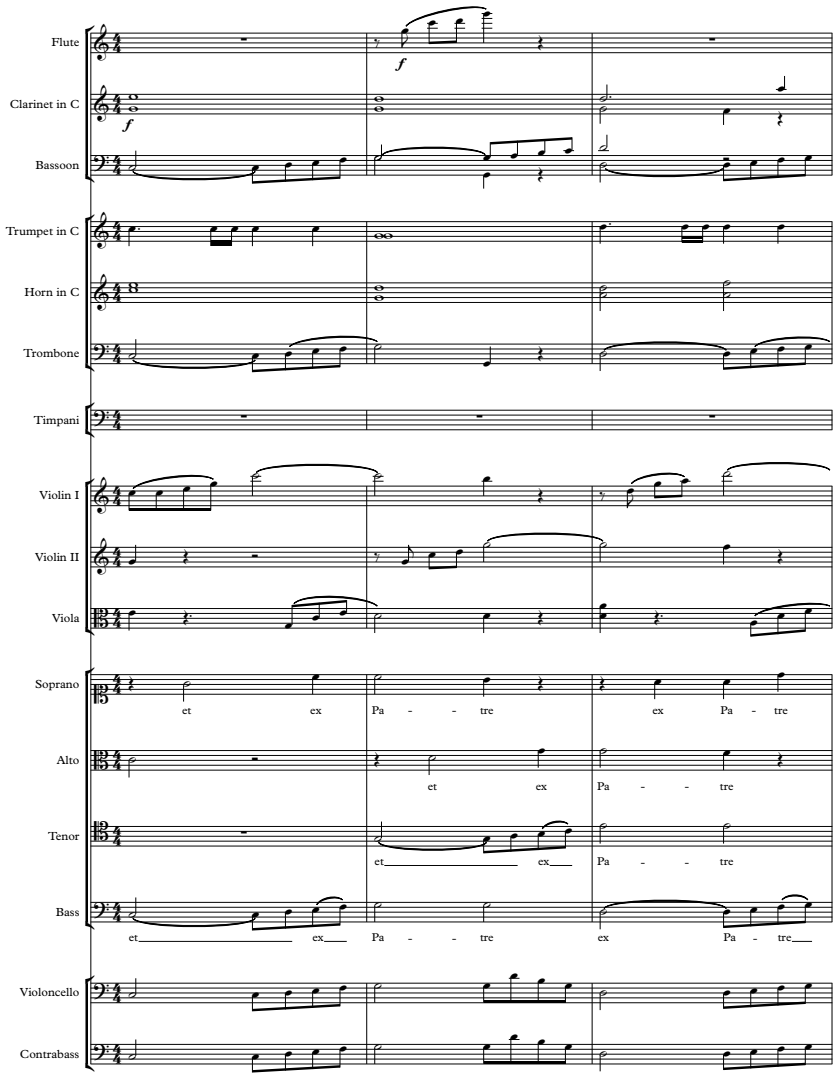

2
Fl.
Cl.
Bsn.
D Hn.
D Tpt.
Tbn.
Timp.
tr
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S.
men a men
A.
men a
T.
De i in glo ria De i
B.
in glo ria De i in glo ria De i
Vc.
Cb.

Figure 25. Catalani, Messa, *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, Analytical Reduction, bb. 85-90.



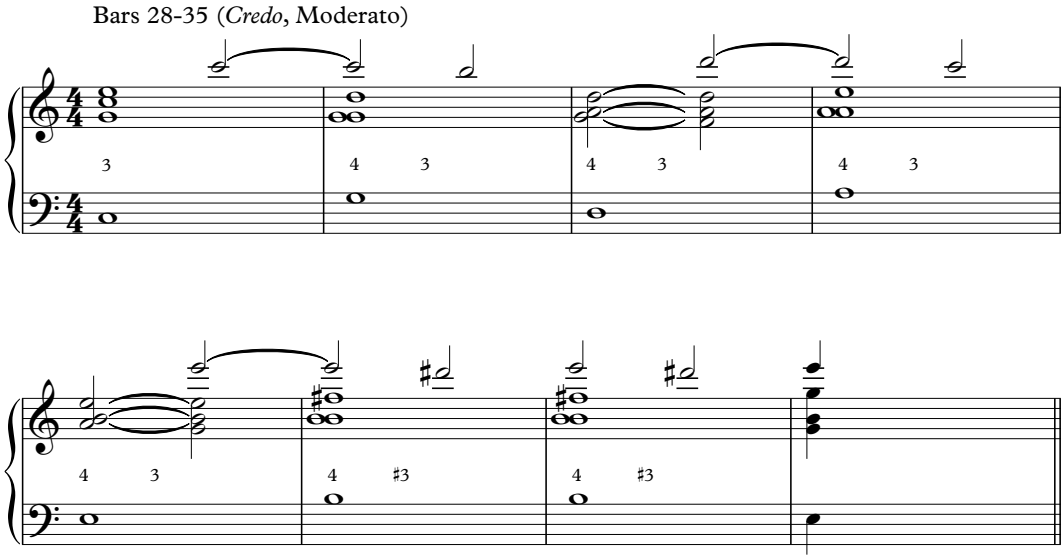
Furthermore, in the *Credo* section (figure 26), the young composer uses a *basso che sale di quinta e scende di quarta*, with all chords in root position, embellishing the pattern with delayed resolutions of the third.

Figure 26. Catalani, *Messa*, *Credo*, bb. 28-35.




2
Fl.
Cl.
Bsn.
C Tpt.
C Hn.
Tbn.
Timp.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
S.
na - tum an - - te om - nia
A.
ex Pa - tre na - - tum an - te
T.
ex Pa - tre___ na - - tum an - - - te___
B.
na - tum an - - - te___ om - nia
Vc.
Cb.

Figure 27. Catalani, *Messa*, *Credo*, Analytical Reduction, bb. 28-35.



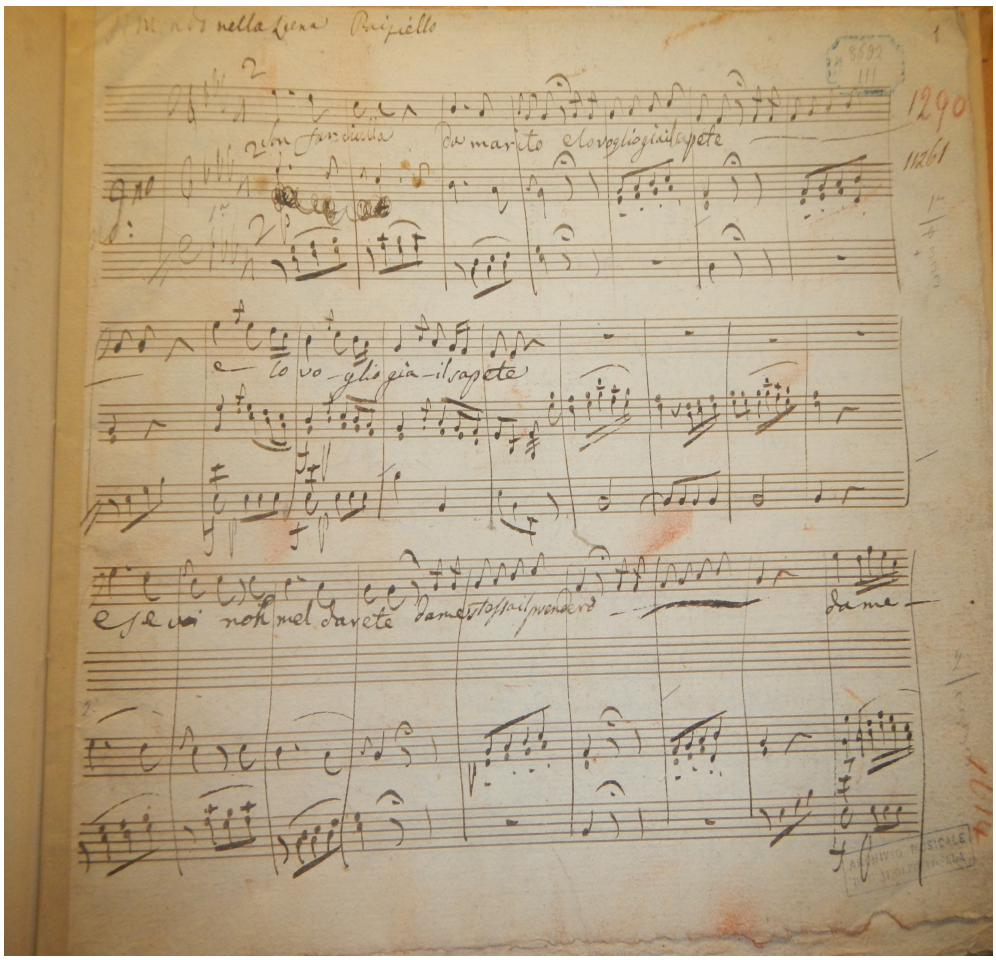
After Catalani's training in Lucca, his biographers usually claim that the composer studied with François Bazin at the Paris Conservatoire in 1873. Indeed, this fact alone has given rise to firm statements concerning his assimilation of the latest French and German styles. However, the claim is not backed up by a single piece of documentary evidence. There is no proof whatsoever that he actually studied in Paris. It seems likely that either he, or his commercial agents, spread this myth in order to make his music seem more up-to-date and appealing to audiences. This further reinforces the argument that Catalani relied primarily on his training through traditional Italian composition pedagogy.

In 1873, he appears to have finished his studies not in Paris but in Milan, under the renowned virtuoso violinist Antonio Bazzini. Although not, perhaps, as cosmopolitan and progressive as Paris, Milan was at that time the centre for radical new music in Italy. Yet, from my archival researches, I found a rare source which bears witness to Catalani's continuing support for the heritage of old Neapolitan *maestri*, even while he was at the Conservatory in Milan. For his graduation exam, Catalani chose to create an *elaborato*, or elaboration, of the aria *Son Fanciulla da marito*, from Paisiello's *Il mondo della Luna* (1777). Figure 28 reproduces the original manuscript by Catalani.

Why would he have chosen so outdated a source, had he not considered Paisiello a worthy guide to compositional skill?

These insights into Catalani's early training and its significance for his compositional practice underline the need for a revisionist history of Italian opera in the second half of the nineteenth century within a newly configured context. Much remains to be discovered, however, and research will surely bring to light many more relevant sources.

Figure 28. Catalani-Paisiello, *Il mondo della luna*, 1875, [213] bb.1-25.



[213] *L'elaborato di Alfredo Catalani per il diploma di composizione* (1874-75) di Conservatorio G. Verdi, Milano I-Mn, ZZZ8164.

CHAPTER 4

FRANCESCO CILEA'S STUDIES IN NAPLES AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1947, Umberto Giordano (1867–1948), one of the last Italian operatic composer of the second half of the nineteenth century, wrote:

> I love the fertile land where I was born, and I am also proud to have predecessors in the art of the immortal Traetta, Piccinni, Paisiello, [and] Mercadante, to whom I will never be equal[214].[215]

It may seem surprising that Giordano, who began his career in the 1890s, long after the era of galant opera composers such as Paisiello or Traetta, still considered these names as great Master of Composition until the end of the nineteenth century. His admiration for the antiquated Neapolitan composition school was not a coincidence. It is not limited to common geographical origin or professional activity. Just before his death, Giordano declared his allegiance to a long line of Italian maestros, the same allegiance that was very important for Alfredo Catalani, as discussed in the previous chapter. In such, Umberto Giordano and Francesco Cilea were the last opera composers who inherited the teachings of the prestigious Neapolitan school.

This chapter will evaluate the almost forgotten figure of Francesco Cilea (1866–1950), with the aim of providing a counterbalance to the prevailing historiographical norms that marginalize and obscure the once thriving and commercially successful repertoire of Italian opera in the late nineteenth century. This will involve a reconstruction of his years of study, and a discussion of his early works in light of the traditions, which continued to preserve the legacy of compositional training outlined in previous chapters. My research will include investigations of hitherto unknown autograph manuscripts by Cilea, currently held at the Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella in

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214 The letter, to G. Capaldi of 1926 is quoted in Mario Morini, *Umberto Giordano*, Milan, Sonzogno, 1968, p. 99: 'Io amo la fertile terra dove sono nato e sono orgoglioso di avere come precedessori l'arte degli immortali Traetta, Piccinni, Paisiello e Mercadante ai quali non saró mai uguale'. Here in my own translation from the original.

Naples. They provide insights into the typical training received by Neapolitan students at this time and reconsider the nineteenth century analytical approach, which establishes the predominance of German influence theoretical traditions of the last Italian opera season, as observed in the previous chapters.

Much remains are to be uncovered about his professional life. Despite producing great masterpieces like *Gina, Adriana Lecouvreur* or *L'Arlesiana*, Cilea, like Catalani and Giordano, is another unjustly overlooked composer in the history of music. Francesco Cilea does not rely on an extensive bibliography, especially in recent years, on his figure and musical production. Significant studies have been carried out by scholars such as Gaetano Pitarresi, Marco Capra and Guido Salvetti[216] who analysed the aspects of dramaturgy of the late nineteenth century theatre in Cilea's works as well as some Wagnerian influences in the artistic creations of the Italian composer. Documents and letters preserved in the Cilea's Museum in his native city are described in the volume *La Dolcissima Effige[217],* which also explores the critical reception of Cilea's operas between the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. This study also analyses the piano production and the chamber music written by the composer during his professional activity as a musician.

Studies related to the biography of the composer,[218] from the early time of his career until his retirement to dedicate himself to teaching and reconstructing his successes and the genesis of his works, are great to observe the musical production and the life of the composer as well as the volume *Francesco Cilea, Documenti e immagini,* which stores interviews, memoires, documents, letters and rare images taken from Cilea's archives.[219]

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[216] See the collection of essays in the volume *Ultimi splendori. Cilea, Giordano, Alfano*, edited by Johannes Streicher, Rome, Ismez, 1999.
[217] *La Dolcissima Effige. Studi su Francesco Cilea*, edited by Gaetano Pitarressi, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa editore, 1999.
[218] Amongst the others, I should mention the volume *Francesco Cilea*, edited by Domenico Ferraro, Nandi Ostali and Piero Ostali Jr, Milan, Casa musicale Sonzogno di Piero Ostali, 2000.
[219] *Francesco Cilea. Documenti e immagini,* edited by Maria Grande, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa Editore, 2001. Other works dedicated to Francesco Cilea which should be mentioned are the work written by Giuseppe Naccari, *Francesco Cilea controluce*, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa editore, 2006; Leonida Repaci, *Francesco Cilea*, edited by Santino Salerno, Reggio Calabria, Rubbetino editore, 2000.

Despite these studies, available only in Italian language, there are no researches in musicological literature dedicated to the training of this composer of the late nineteenth century or works exploring the Italian compositional traditions, in historical-analytical terms and in light of the artistic *milieu* of the last years of the century, which investigate the rare documents preserved at the Neapolitan Conservatory and the influence of these alive pedagogic traditions in the Cilea's musical language. In other words, no studies, before this research in English language, were dedicated to these aspects of the life and artistic production of Francesco Cilea as it was done for Giacomo Puccini, the only musician who is currently included in studies, such as Nicholas Baragwanath's book, inherent to the theoretical musical traditions and to analytical works in the vast bibliography dedicated to his figure.

As described in the previous chapters, the decline of the great Italian opera tradition, after three centuries, coincided with the decline of these prestigious *partimento* and *solfeggi* traditions and Neapolitan (or even 'Italian', if we consider the period) teachings were preserved and passed down through the generations. The late nineteenth century was a time of flux, however, because Italian composers had long since lost their privileged status and began to concede to foreign rivals, pressure mounted on music schools to modernise. Nevertheless, many of the foundations of the old traditions remained intact and this is the main contribution, which helped Giovane Scuola composers' musical languages and artistic credo of this operatic generation.

Francesco Cilea's operas, in fact, cannot be fully understood and appreciated without reference to his background in Naples. Its rich library preserves numerous autographs containing youthful exercises by Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano as well as many other composers of the period. These sources document the methods of study at the San Pietro a Majella Conservatoire during the last decades of the nineteenth century. They help us understand the significant connection between their training, old-fashioned compositional practice and professional activity as opera composers, as it was for Puccini, Catalani and Umberto Giordano. Cilea's student notebooks, in fact, present a wealth of information and insight into a forgotten tradition, providing details of not only many of the theories and practices taught in the nineteenth century conservatoires but also the fundamental approach of the last Italian operatic composers.

4.1 The Neapolitan Conservatoire and Its Legacy for Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano's Training.

This chapter will not investigate the history of the Neapolitan Conservatories[220] and their libraries but it is necessary to recall the relevant teaching, sources and *maestri,* which guided the students and young composers. As the previous chapter highlights Lucca and its musical institutions, this section will recall the Neapolitan Conservatoire's traditions to better put in evidence the legacy at the end of the nineteenth century.

The library of the Conservatoire San Pietro a Majella in Naples is still an essential reference point for musicians, scholars and researchers from around the world and fundamental for theatre studies of the musical arts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy, headed by the renowned Neapolitan School. The library preserves a unique heritage of valuable manuscripts, rare music prints, opera *libretti*, composer's letters and other important documents related to the musical life in Naples. A short introduction to the archive of this library draws our attention to the role of precious manuscripts such as *solfeggi*, *partimenti* and counterpoint exercises concerning at least two centuries, which are still preserved.

In 1791, Saverio Mattei proposed a project to King Ferdinand IV, which ultimately resulted in the library. He immediately dedicated his time to reorganise the Conservatoire, which he deemed chaotic.

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[220] More detailes are given in Ugo Sesini, "Il riordino della biblioteca", in *Bollettino del Real Conservatorio di musica S.Pietro a Majella* , IV/2 1941, pp. 3–7; Guido Pannain, *Il R. Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli*, Florence, Le Monnier, 1942; Alfredo Tarallo, *La biblioteca del Conservatorio di Napoli a duecento anni dalla sua fondazione*, Naples, Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici, 1991; Mauro Amato, "La biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella di Napoli; dal nucleo originale alle donazioni di fondi privati ottocenteschi", in *Francesco Florimo e l'Ottocento musicale*, vol. 2, pp. 645–69; Tiziana Grande, "Contributo alla storia della Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli; gli anni 1889–1935", in *Fonti musicali italiane,* 3, 1998, pp. 199–214; *Conservatorio di Musica di San Pietro a Majella*, edited by Giovanni Ferrara, Aversa, Grafica Nappa, 2003, pp.49-56; Tiziana Grande-Mauro Amato, "La Biblioteca del Conservatorio nel secondo Novecento", in *Percorsi della musica a Napoli nel Novecento*, edited by Gianluca D'Agostino, Naples, ESI, 2005, («Meridione. Sud e Nord nel Mondo», V/2 2005); *The Conservatorio of San Pietro a Majella, an artistic guide* edited by Lorella Sarita, Naples, Electa Napoli, 2008; *Il Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella*, edited by Filippo Arriva, Rome, Editalia, 1996; *Niccolò Jommelli e Saverio Mattei; la costruzione della Scuola Musicale di Napoli*, edited by Elsa Evangelista, Luigi Sisto, Lorella Starita, Naples, Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, 2014.

Mattei developed a friendship with Giuseppe Sigismondo, historian, scholar and bibliophile, a valuable aid for the preservation and transmission of music sources such as Durante, Jommelli and Leo.[221] Sigismondo was appointed as the librarian by Mattei at the Conservatoire and was persuaded to surrender many rare books and manuscripts to its collection. The original library archive was rich with sacred and secular music of, for example, Cafaro, Scarlatti, Vinci, Pergolesi and many more musicians of the Neapolitan school. In 1826, the complex of San Pietro a Majella hosted the library with its treasures and the legacy of the previous Neapolitan Conservatories, which has now become permanent.

Francesco Florimo (1800–1888)[222] succeeded Sigismondo and ushered in a new golden age that lasted more than half a century. Francesco Florimo, a close friend of Vincenzo Bellini and a musician trained in the Royal College of San Sebastiano under the guidance of great masters like Giovanni Furno (1748–1837), Giacomo Tritto (1733–1824) and Nicola Antonio Zingarelli (1752–1837), was a tireless and meticulous librarian, interested in winning donations and acquisitions for the library. In these years, the library received a considerable number of acquisitions, including the private collection of Sigismodo. Thanks to the efforts of Florimo and his demands to musicians, booksellers and publishers, and to the interest of the rulers by means of their royal decrees (1795, 1829 and 1851)[223], which included the obligation to provide copies to the library of the musical works performed in the theatres, the library boasted numerous autographs, new works of the great masters, treated compositions, *solfeggi* and *partimenti* of authors such as Cimarosa, Paisiello, Piccinni, Porpora and many others. During the nineteenth century, numerous collections of noble families were

[221] More details in Rosa Cafiero, "Progressi notabili a vantaggio della musica": Saverio Mattei e la creazione della biblioteca del Conservatorio di Santa Maria della Pieta' dei Turchini, in *Saverio Mattei. Tradizione e invenzione*, edited by Mario Montanile e Rocco Ricco, Rome, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2016, pp.85-131.

[222] The importance of Francesco Florimo is exploited in Rosa Cafiero, *Francesco Florimo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. XLVIII, 1997, pp.349–53; Antonio Caroccia, *La corrispondenza salvata. Lettere di maestri e compositori a Francesco Florimo*, Palermo, Mnemes, 2004, pp. 13–20; *I corrispondenti abruzzesi di Florimo. Selezione dall'Epistolario*, Lucca, LIM, 2007, pp. XXIX-LVI.

[223] Francesco Melisi, La Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella di Napoli, in Filippo Arriva, *Il Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella*, pp. 37-38.

donated to the Conservatoire, such as the archive of the Marquis Capece Minutolo in 1882.

As mentioned, a deep examination of the history of the library of the Conservatoire San Pietro a Majella is beyond the scope of this paper. This short overview was a mere but contextual glimpse into the richness of the musical heritage and its usefulness for the students of the Conservatoire, as we shall see for Francesco Cilea. Cilea, as well as many other students in the second half of the nineteenth century, had the opportunity not only to study with the last masters of the most important school of composition, but also to learn the foundations of composition, observe many treatises of counterpoint, musical autographs and primary sources present in the library. The study of Cilea's influences like Alessandro Scarlatti and Leonardo Leo was facilitated by the large presence of original music that Cilea studied assiduously and recommended many years later, as a musician and director of the same conservatoire, to students of composition.[224]

Born on 23 July 1866 in Palmi, near Reggio Calabria, in the south of Italy, Cilea manifested his predisposition for music even as a child after listening to the finale of Bellini's Norma performed by a small band and conducted by Maestro Rosario Jonata, his first teacher:

> In the villa of Palmi, I received the most profound and compelling emotion when the band performed the finale of Norma. The heartfelt prayer of the protagonist, *Deh! Non volerli vittime*, accompanied by the well-known melody and the insistent triplets, begot in me a great astonishment, and almost a desire to cry, emblazoning this music firmly in my mind and awarding in me an admiration for Bellini without compromise.[225]

[224] See Francesco Cilea, *Documenti e immagini*, edited by Maria Grande, Reggio Calabria, Laruffa Editore, 2001.

[225] 'Nella villa di Palmi ricevetti la più profonda e avvincente commozione allorquando la banda eseguí il finale della Norma. L'accorata invocazione di Norma, "Deh! non volerli vittime" accompagnata dalle ben note doloranti e insistenti terzine, genera in me un vivo stupore, e quasi un desiderio di pianto, rimanendo incancellabilmente impressa nel mio animo e assicurando al Bellini un'ammirazione non soggetta a contrasti', in Francesco Cilea, *Documenti e immagini*, p. 17. This is my own translation.

Vincenzo Bellini influenced the young Cilea when he was a student at the conservatoire and this veneration led his musical interest for the rest of his life:

> On behalf of the Royal Academy of Italy, I had to take care of the youthful unpublished compositions of Vincenzo Bellini and make a choice: reproduce some in facsimile and others in print. I do not know how many sweet memories aroused in me that name and those readings […] Bellini at the beginning of my life; Bellini at the end![226]

It was Francesco Florimo who prompted the family of the Calabrian composer to study composition. Cilea entered the Neapolitan Conservatoire in 1879, where he studied piano with Beniamino Cesi (1845–1907) and Giuseppe Martucci (1856–1909) and began studying composition with Paolo Serrao (1830–1907) until his graduation on 23 August 1889. Paolo Serrao had been a distinguished and influential professor of music theory and composition. He had received a training programme heavily influenced by the Neapolitan counterpoint legacy. Amongst his students, Umberto Giordano, Ruggero Leoncavallo and Franco Alfano, had been notable and important operatic composers of the last Italian opera season. Serrao had studied with Carlo Conti (1796–1868) and Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870). Conti had been a student of Furno and Tritto, but masters such as Fenaroli, Zingarelli and Mayr had influenced his future teaching as professor in Naples. Conti had been one of Vincenzo Bellini's teachers. Serrao started teaching in Naples in 1869 when Giuseppe Verdi suggested his name to the Neapolitan Conservatoire[227].

The influence of two other composers, heirs of the old Italian tradition, Lauro Rossi (1801–1885) and Pietro Platania (1828–1907), was equally crucial for Cilea's formative conservatoire years. Lauro Rossi had the great fortune to study with Furno and Zingarelli at the Collegio di San Sebastiano in Naples, until 1829. After several successes as an operatic composer, he became the director of the Conservatoire in Milan (1850–1871) and then in Naples (1871–1878) when Cilea was a student. As

[226] 'Per incarico della Reale Accademia d'Italia dovetti di buon proposito occuparmi delle composizioni giovanili inedite di Vincenzo Bellini per farne una scelta: alcune per la riproduzione in fac-simile, ed altre per la stampa. Non so dire quanti dolci ricordi suscitarono in me quel nome e quelle letture […]. Bellini all'inizio della mia vita: Bellini alla fine!,Varazze, 1950; quoted in my own translation from *Francesco Cilea*, edited by Domenico Ferraro, Nandi Ostali, p. 8.

[227] Antonio Rostagno, "La Scala verso la moderna orchestra; gli eventi e i motivi delle riforme da Morelli ad Aida", in *Studi Verdiani,* vol. 16, Parma, Istituto degli Studi verdiani, 2002, p. 216.

apparent in earlier chapters, during the nineteenth century Italy remained the undisputed land of the old compositional school. Opera composers held important positions as teachers and directors of conservatories.

Similarly, Pietro Platania (1828–1906) was a leading Italian theorist and teacher. Together with his master Pietro Raimondi (1786–1853)[228], their significant contribution made an impact on the entire century. Considered by Rossini and Verdi, among others, to be the greatest master of counterpoint of that period, Platania's influence was felt throughout the Conservatoire during the last part of the nineteenth century.[229] In the second half of the nineteenth century, in Italy, and above all in Naples, a renewed interest for the *musica antica* was still considered necessary and an impetus to study composition. For this reason, as will be seen, Cilea studied, arranged and promoted music by Leonardo Leo and Alessandro Scarlatti even after he was a professional composer and director of the Neapolitan conservatoire. Cilea's master, Pietro Platania, in 1871, a few years before Cilea entered the conservatoire as a student, declared the foundational nature of eighteenth century tradition, in which this compositional practice took the form of an apprenticeship of sorts for students and young musicians. Music teaching therefore had to return to 'the true elements of Italian counterpoint' as fundamental, including the canons of the traditional school. Platania rationalised this thinking as follows:

> Immortalising as models the Italian composers (Scarlatti, Marcello, Palestrina, Pergolesi, Leo, Durante, Sala, Paisiello, Cimarosa, Cherubini, Spontini, Mattei, Zingarelli, Rossini and Raimondi, among others) as more than relevant representatives of their genre and time, thereby situating above and above the idea of progress and contemporaneity, which may potentially undermine or contradict or even ultimately destroy the value that our school has recognized and established as fundamental in art itself.[230] *[...]*

[228] Gaetano Stella*, "*Partimenti in the Age of Romanticism: Raimondi, Platania and Boucheron", in *Journal of Music Theory 51*, pp. 161–86.
[229] Gaetano Stella, *Un compositore erudito nel secondo Ottocento italiano: Pietro Platania (1828–1907),* unpublished PhD Thesis, Universita' Tor Vergata di Roma, 2009.
[230] Antolini, "La musica antica nei conservatori italiani nella seconda meta' dell'Ottocento", in *L'insegnamento dei conservatori, la composizione musicale e la vita musicale nell'Europa dell'Ottocento*, p. 182.

Platania did not expressively avoid studying some German classics also, such as Haydn, Mozart, Bach, Schubert, but he intended to:

> Counteract the 'abuse' of their impact, which dominated in Italy at the time, in rendering classic music equivalent in name to German music. While, if the Germans identify with instrumental music, Italians value equally *canti fermi*, for the operatic and ecclesiastical style, the divine melody, which can be said to have reached its apogee with Vincenzo Bellini and his contemporaries.[231]

The Platania quotation about operatic and ecclesiastical style recalls rediscovery of sacred music and the influence of *musica antica*, strictly connected with partimento tradition, which influenced the training and the musical language of the Giovane Scuola composers.

My brief excursion into the heritage of the Neapolitan Conservatoire and its teachers is significant to understand the context of a conservative and essential compositional practice, which defines the last generation of Italian opera composers. The question can then be posed as to why more modern composers like Cilea or Giordano, far from the styles of Leonardo Leo, Pasquini, Greco, Durante, Cimarosa, Porpora and many others, still received a heavy dose of training based on these old masters and their music traditions. In fact, the secular traditions even extended beyond the last part of the nineteenth century in Naples, this old-fashioned music school was still considered the best passport to a prestigious career, as indeed it had been in Lucca for Puccini and Catalani.

As observed in the previous chapters, the new tendencies and nascent researches on the musical theoretical traditions and the influences of French and German compositional praxis failed to throw into the shadow the strong Italian tradition of pedagogy and musical compositional praxis, which made the *partimento* and its rules a pillar still alive for the study of the composition. Despite the differences highlighted

[231]From my own translation: 'controbilanciare l'abuso che di essi si fa in Italia; tasche dire musica classica sia come si dicesse musica tedesca. Mentre, se i tedeschi tant'altro sentono e si elevano nella parte strumentale, altrettanto valgono gl'Italiani per canti fermi, per lo stile melodrammatico e chiesastico, per la divina melodia, che possiamo dire esser giunta al suo apogeo con Vincenzo Bellini e i suoi contemporanei' *Ibidem*, p. 182.

in the first chapter, with the tradition of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century compared to the late nineteenth century, this tradition, along with the rediscovery and study of ancient music and sacred repertoire, still resisted with the last flashes of its legacy.

The tenacity with which the Neapolitan school was still the winning pedagogical practice in the Italian tradition also resided in its validity in the teaching of musical basis to produce professional composers. As explained in the previous chapters, in the first few decades of the twentieth century, in fact, the operatic tradition went into crisis and Italian musicians and theorists tried to consider experimenting new researches on teaching and musical languages, being aware that the gap left by the *partimento* traditions and by the past, was not been filled.

In the second half of the century, however, the Neapolitan school and the influence of the past was still considered, in Naples as in Lucca as well, a sure way that compensated the inadequacy of other musical theories to be a practice and strong pedagogic instrument to acquire the base of composition. *Partimento* rules, in fact, with its axioms such as the study of cadences, the Rule of the Octave, the *moti del basso* together with the study of the masterworks of the past, including sacred works by masters such as Pergolesi, Durante, or Mattei, could guarantee to the students a strong training to acquirence tonal coherence in their musical skills and a sure passport to become a professional composer as it was in all nineteenth century.

The pedagogic possibilities offered by these Italian traditions still alive at the end of the century and a deep dialogue with the past which could be musical inspirations for musical recalls and dramaturgical references, for loyalty to the I*talianita'* of the Giovane Scuola 'artistic belief, were in fact significant elements that explain the existence of the manuscript documents studied in this work and of the presence of musical *topoi* and musical colours, conscientiously or not, within the operas of Catalani Cilea and Giordano. These aspects oblige us to reconsider the study of the musical theoretical tradition of the period and the gaps or the prejudices present in the musicological literature dedicated to these composers. Also, this study reflects on a crucial point which characterizes the tradition of the Neapolitan school, common heritage in Italy as well as in Europe, with the specific tradition of Italian opera

throughout the eighteenth century until its decline in the late nineteenth century in a productive parallel dialogue between the compositional practice and the Italian operatic genre until its death.

In the light of this aspect, we can necessary therefore investigate Cilea's early training in more depth, by examining the teaching of counterpoint and composition during his student years in the late nineteenth century (1870–1890); representing the style underpinning his future career. It is remarkable that such scant commentary exists about this means of teaching in Naples, including the professional instruction in composition at the musical institution, because they undeniably played a fundamental role for opera composers like Cilea, Leoncavallo and Giordano. As we saw regarding Catalani in the previous chapter, the use of Neapolitan patterns was highlighted as providing a solid base for the development of his proficiency, with examples of how models and schema were learnt and used in music training. These *solfeggio-partimento* patterns, and by solfeggio influence I include also the sacred music influence strictly connected with the solfeggio practice, and Neapolitan schema used in composition, eventually became *topoi* for nineteenth century opera composers because they generally exploited what they had learnt to take advantage of in their early compositions. Indeed, they had done so even later to communicate particular dramaturgical context or assert this prestigious conservative style as an identifying point of their professional careers, in the same way that previous opera composers had done.

Significant documents, never analysed before, have survived, from which the art of the old Italian school can be reconstructed in detail. As observed in the previous chapter, the term "sketch" relates to the vast variety of musical documents which are used by musicians to develop a musical technique or idea for publication or performance or to prepare their professional work as students. These sources can provide essential and subtle insights into musical creation, and they should not be simply considered in light of the imperialistic Romantic *Volksgeist* from Germanic musicology.[232]

[232] Giorgio Sanguinetti, "Decline and Fall of the "Celeste Impero": The Theory of Composition in Naples during the Ottocento", in *Studi Musicali XXXIV*, 2005/2, pp. 451-502.

Documents such as the notebooks of Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano elucidate details of authorship, biography and the history of music theory in the second half of the nineteenth century along with music analysis. In other words, their examination reveals counterpoint exercises and *partimenti* used as guidelines to develop voice-leading, and they provide detailed cases on how sketches created compositional techniques. I will therefore employ numerous samples of autographs by Cilea, which have never been studied before. These documents not only help us to understand better Cilea's operas themselves, but also the nuanced history of musical composition processes. Studying these autographs assists us in understanding counterpoint and composition.

As mentioned before[233], the study of composition exercises is still not considered a significant field for musicologists because these materials did not have the fortune to be recognised as 'genuine' original inspired works, following the German romantic idea which prevailed in the nineteenth century and today. These sources are not considered worthy of study because they are not evaluated as works of pure art; rather they are disregarded as simple sketches. Musicologists rarely bother to focus their attention on seemingly irrelevant exercises of composers other than Haendel, Mozart or Beethoven[234] and almost never Italian opera composers, even with a compositional school considered traditional.

Thus, in reconstructing the history of music theory, in the climate of German colonization of the concepts of harmony and counterpoint at the end of nineteenth century, it is clear the extent to which the old Italian compositional school still retained its relevance and significance and had not yet been abandoned. Thanks to this school, Cilea managed to become one of the most relevant professional operatic composers of his generation.

Nevertheless, the question arises as to why it is possible to find composers like Cilea using so many examples of *romanesche* or fugues in old sacred music styles so far

[233] Friedemann Sallis, *Music Sketches*, 2015.
[234] Alfred Mann, *The Great Composer as Teacher and Student. Theory and Practice of Composition,* 1994.

from the French and German models prevailing in the nineteenth century. Cilea's notebooks reflect not only his compositional training but also the pedagogical ideas of compositional history at the end of the nineteenth century. They throw light on a continuous, efficient, sacred old-fashioned style, whose influence should not be underestimated. The serious amount of time dedicated to learning the counterpoint confirms Cilea's value placed on his musical education and the great reverence he had after he become a professional composer for this traditional school. Indeed, he states:

> With me the great Neapolitan tradition ends. […] It is necessary to update our music styles while nevertheless retaining the domain of our masters' origins, which were ever evolving and in fact very progressive in their own way. […] I am a very proud young student to affirm that the domain of compositional competence from Naples and its great Conservatoire (including music from the sacred to profane, from symphonic to opera, from Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti, Leonardo Leo and Pergolesi to Vincenzo Bellini, and from Tritto to Platania), be heir and successor to the glorious traditions of the life Neapolitan school, always having remained and to remain the center of life, light and musical renewal.[235]

Cilea's words sum up the reason to investigate the rare documents found in Naples and in Lucca and the legacy for the musical languages and the theoretical traditions of his period. Appendix 1 lists Cilea's copybooks bound together in the San Pietro a Majella Library, along with year, month, title, name of the instructor and call numbers of the single source. We proceed now towards a closer examination of the contents of such autographs.

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[235]. 'Con me finisce la grande tradizione napoletana […]. Bisogna rinnovarsi, ma restando nell'ordine, nel dominio della ragione e quindi della logica, ispirandosi, cioè, ai sommi nostri maestri, i quali non erano stazionari, ma sensatamente progressivi. E sono perciò orgoglioso, o giovani, di potervi affermare che nel dominio della musica, da quella religiosa a quella profana, dalla musica sinfonica a quella teatrale, da Alessandro Scarlatti a Leonardo Leo, da Pergolesi a Bellini, da Tritto a Platania, […], Napoli musicale, e con essa il Conservatorio, erede e continuatore delle gloriose tradizioni ella Scuola napoletana, sono stati, e rimarranno sempre centro di vita, di luce e di rinnovamento spirituale', in *Francesco Cilea*, edited by Domenico Ferraro, Nandi Ostali, Piero Ostali Jr, 2001 p.174. My own translation.

First, I will examine the *Corso di contrappunto a due parti* (1882)[236], a document that attests to the existence of this old school. The manuscript contains a complete series of counterpoint exercises developed during the years 1881–1882 by Cilea.

4.2 Cilea's training and the pedagogical tradition in the late nineteenth century Naples

As we observed in previous chapters, the study of harmony and counterpoint during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries were approached in a completely different way to the study of composition. One of the main principles of the Neapolitan eighteenth-century didactic method had been learning through the practical working-out of exemplars or models common to any opera composer of that period, imparted by spoken instruction. The bass motions, *partimenti* and *solfeggi schemes*, the Rule of the Octave, for instance, were kept alive in Lucca and Naples as if to witness a glorious and fast vanishing musical past. The *Corso di contrappunto* elaborated by Francesco Cilea attests the existence of such tradition. In his *Corso*, Cilea set out the old meaning of the term *contrappunto,* which basically was understood as the study of *partimento* and Neapolitan counterpoint rules. This handbook follows the typical Neapolitan manual: the study of cadences, scales, bass motions, suspensions.

The old conservative approach to the first, more elementary standard cadences, recalls the Neapolitan teaching, which can be found in several Neapolitan compositional treatises. Cilea's teachers considered the first stage in counterpoint studies as the thorough working out of *Cadenze.* [237] Cilea employed the same approach, which was also used by Lavigna (see chapter 2), as well as Sala's *Regole* and Fenaroli's studies, just to mention a few examples. The student would use only the first and fifth harmonic degrees on a bass arpeggiation with opening tonic, dominant and closing tonic. Above this cadence I-V-I, the student places models of top voice: 3-2-3, 1-7-1, 3-7-1, 3-2-3.

[236]*Corso di contrappunto a due parti*: *esercizi di contrappunto a due voci, 18 giugno 1881*. Anno scolastico 1880-1881, Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Napoli, coll. NA. Rari 4.5.1(10).
[237] See also my Chapter 3 on Giuseppe Verdi and his studies with Vincenzo Lavigna.

After this presentation of four models of cadence, their elaborations can be seen with increasing complexity. Paolo Serrao would have simply suggested writing four basic cadences with whole notes, then elaborate them using *l'arte della diminuzione* (the 'art of diminution') as shown in the Picture 1 (a-b)**.** In other words, the exercise proceeds following the five species as given (not invented but classified and reproduced) by Fux in his Gradus ad Parnassus[238]: one note against one note, two notes against one note, suspensions, and so forth.

In other words, Cilea's notebook presented the same idea in which cadences first, and the essential base of counterpoint study, are elaborated following the steps of great Neapolitan rules, (figure 1 a-b), from Sala to Fenaroli, from Durante to Zingarelli[239]. The same guidelines were learnt by such composers as Spontini to Verdi, Bellini to Cilea, and Donizetti to Puccini. The importance of cadences, their functions as essential bases in learning the fundamentals of composition, will be reflected in Cilea's works, as we will see.

The section *Scale a salire* as well as *Scale a scendere* attests the use of scales as RdO and as *cantus firmus* in elementary counterpoint. In doing so, Cilea's manuscripts show also the technique employed to use scales as a bass for a series of diminutions, as we saw in the previous series for cadences. Scales have three functions as essential bases in learning counterpoint, testifying the importance of the rule of the octave as a model learnt from Neapolitan masters and their collections of *partimenti*.

[238] Johann Joseph Fux, *Salita al Parnasso, ossia guida alla regolare composizione della musica, Carpi, 1761,* Bologna, Forni Editore, 2008.
[239] see Nicola Sala, *Regole del contrappunto pratico di Nicola Sala napoletano, primo maestro del Reale Conservatorio della Pietà de'Torchini dedicate alla maestà d Ferdinando IV, re delle Sicilie*, Napoli, Stampera Reale, (3 voll.); Fedele Fenaroli, *Regole musicali per i principianti di* cembalo, Naples, Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1755; Francesco Durante, *Regole e partimenti numerati e diminuiti Del Sig. Francesco Durante Pe uso di me Agostino Fontana copiati nel 1801*, I-Ria Misc. Mss. Vess 283, 1801;

Figure 1. (a) Cilea, *Corso di contrappunto a quattro voci, Cadenze*, 1882.



Figure 1 (b).



Moreover, the *Corso a 4 parti*[240] shows more models of sequential progression, which the young Cilea employed in the same manner as the cadences and scales: the bass

[240] *Corso di Contrappunto a quattro parti: Cadenze; Salti a salire; Scale a salire, Scale a scendere*. Anno scolastico 1881-82; NA - Rari 4.5.1(14).

motions, *Salti a salire* and *Salti a scendere.* This section contains the realisation of different bass motions with different solutions. These basses are the same as found in several Neapolitan treatises and notebooks, where often no realisation is given. (Figure 2). They are the same patterns over bass lines moving by leaps that were taught by Fenaroli, Zingarelli and many other masters. Following Fenaroli's rules, the bass motions were usually presented in ascending and descending order of intervals, progressing through steps, thirds (a), fourths (b), fifths (c), and sixths (d).

These are formulations of small contrapuntal movements used by all opera composers from the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries. It was a procedure which still required the repetition of schemata or patterns through constant practice, as used by Cilea, as well as Catalani, Giordano or Mascagni.

Figure 2 (a), Cilea, *Corso di contrappunto a quattro voci, Salti a salire.*



Figure 2 (b), Cilea, *Corso di contrappunto a quattro voci*, *Salti di quarta*.



Cilea, following Fenaroli's approach to counterpoint teaching, at the beginning of his studies, learnt to elaborate the basic Neapolitan contrapuntal paradigms, which were: cadences, scales, bass motions, in as many different ways as possible.

Figure 2 (c), Cilea, *Corso di contrappunto a quattro voci, Salti di quinta.*



The process, from simple whole-note models to more elaborated ones, followed the art of diminution as a fundamental aspect of the Italian pedagogy.

Figure 3 (a), Cilea, *Bassi di Fenaroli*, 1882-1883.



Not many manuscript sources of opera composer studies survived from the end of the nineteenth century. Cilea's sources, as we have seen, have been preserved completely and show an important secular tradition still alive. Cadences are elementary structures of tonal music and, after the initial exercises, Cilea replaced them with other tonal patterns: scales, bass motions, *and Imitazioni* and *bassi di composizione*.

Figure 3 (b), Cilea, *Bassi di Fenaroli dal IV libro. Contrappunto a quattro parti*, 1882-1883.



Figure 3 (a and b) shows other sections of *Corso di Contrappunto,* which includes Fenaroli's sources used by the young Cilea as *bassi* to learn music skills. Counterpoint exercises in four voices use *partimenti* from the fourth book of Fenaroli's rules. The counterpoint method, commonly used in the school of Fenaroli, was still used to facilitate the writing of music for opera composers.

Another example of realised four-part *bassi* by Zingarelli can be seen in Figure 4**.** The exercise[241] preserves 16 original *partimenti* by Zingarelli, used as written pedagogical exercises and undertaken by the young Cilea.

[241] *Armonia: comprende accordi di 3a e 5a, forma di partimento. 31 luglio 1879; Bassi di Zingarelli| Semplici consonanze, partimenti; Zingarelli Nicola, 16 Bassi realizzati.* NA - Rari, 4.5.1(1).

Figure 4, Cilea, *Bassi di Zingarelli*, 1882-1883.



It is fascinating to see how masters such as Fedele Fenaroli and Nicolò Zingarelli were still considered fundamental for opera composition, in Cilea's day. Their instructional models were elaborated to serve different pedagogical needs. Their models were widely copied, elaborated, and studied by Francesco Cilea to improve his compositional skill.

At this point, it becomes interesting to explore and explain how Cilea used this pedagogical approach in his operas; preserving the legacy of this revered conservative music school. As mentioned, the use of the cadential movements as part of study in counterpoint, proceeds to the study of movements involving leaps in bass. The predominance of this counterpoint from Cilea's education clearly highlights the Neapolitan influence. It is not rare to find these patterns, for instance, in works by composers like Rossini, Spontini, Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi. Nor is it unusual to find them or other standard archaic outlines in operas from the first half of the century.

Conversely, it may seem to a modern musicologist rather novel to find them in the

works of *Verismo*[242] composers from the end of the nineteenth century, individuals who might seem to inhabit a world far removed from the procedures of the most important Italian school in Europe. Among the most significant artists, Catalani, Puccini, Cilea, Leoncavallo and Giordano, and Pietro Mascagni (1863–1945) are perhaps the names most associated with *Verismo*. Mascagni enjoyed considerable success during his lifetime, but unfortunately today he is known almost solely for *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Despite the supposed Wagnerian and German influences on these *Verismo* composers,[243] the so-called "old-fashioned" Neapolitan (or perhaps now 'Italian') compositional practice still maintained somewhat of a presence in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

The following example is taken from *Cavalleria Rusticana*. The opera's intermezzo contains another example of *Romanesca* patterns, as seen in the following analytical reduction in Figure 5**.**

Figure 5. Mascagni, *Cavalleria Ruscitana*, (1890), *Intermezzo*, and Analytical Reduction, bb. 1-12.



[242] See the mentioned Giorgio Ruberti, *Il verismo musicale*, 2015; *Ultimi splendori. Cilea, Giordano, Alfano*, edited by Johannes Streicher ,1999.
[243] Guido Salvetti, *La nascita del Novecento*, 2014.

Returning to Francesco Cilea, two further examples can demonstrate how the young composer was heavily influenced by a strong training programme in composition. As his final test whilst studying in San Pietro a Majella in 1889, Cilea wrote an opera called *Gina,* in three acts based on a libretto by Enrico Golisciani. It was first performed on February 9th 1889 in the theatre of the Conservatoire of San Pietro a Majella in Naples. This was the final work that Cilea composed for his course of studies, with which he achieved a measure of success despite it never being resumed. Only eventually in 2000, did its first revival take place at the Modern Theatre Rendano of Cosenza, in Italy.[244] In this first creation of the young Cilea, we witness the same traditional schema that he encountered during his studies. The example of a *Romanesca* is taken from the first act, during the duet between Uberto and Falmberge.

In this same opera, Cilea used other bass motions and the Rule of the Octave, learned during his apprenticeship. In the third scene of act one, during the trio with Gina, Lilla (Umberto's girlfriend) and Flamberge, Cilea united a bass of the fourth down and fifth up with a fragment of the RdO. In example 3, the movement of bass belonging to a descending scale from Re (D) to Mi (E) is spotlighted.

[244] Francesco Cilea, *Gina*, sung by Fabio Maria Capitanucci (Uberto), Anna Lucia Alessio (Gina), Laura Brioli (Lilla), Gianluca Terranova (Giulio), Andrea Porta (Flamberge) with the Philharmonia Mediterranea, Coro «Solisti Cantori», conducted by Christopher Franklin, recorded live in 2000, Bongiovanni GB2302/03, compact disc.

Figure 6. Cilea, *Gina*, (1889), act 1, scene 1, *Rataplan! Avanti ognor*, Original and Analytical Reduction, bb.1-16.



Cilea's most famous masterpiece, Adriana Lecouvreur, is still regularly performed today. Its renowned arias are worthy of scrutiny. While working at Adriana Lecouvreur, in 1902, Cilea described his artistic *credo*:

> In art, italianitá has always been my norm: perhaps in a modernised form, but with its essence fully genuine and never stifled or distorted.[245]

This quote should be understood as reminding us of the importance of these conventional music traditions, which formed the basis of music language. Much has been written about apparent newer French or Wagnerian tendencies in Cilea's music, since the appearance of his first operas. However, Cilea himself believed that the great Italian compositional patterns had to be part of his *filosofia* without being replaced by

[245] 'Nell'Arte, espressione dello spirito, norma costante ed intransigente mi è stata sempre l'italianità, ammodernata nel progresso delle forme e della tecnica, mai soffocata, né deformata, come attestano e comprovano *Arlesiana, Adriana* e *Gloria*, le tre creature della mia fantasia e del mio sognato ideale', quoted in the Conservatorio F.Cilea website: http://cilea.altervista.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=43:francesco-cilea&id=65:cronobiografia-di-francesco-cilea. This is my own translation.

Austro-German influences. Obviously at the end of the nineteenth century, these musical *topoi* – these formulas – were exploited in a new light, given the compositional styles at that time. That for Cilea meant "in a modernised form" but this conservative heritage may still be found as late as the turn of the twentieth century.

Here, it is useful to illustrate that on 6th November 1901, at the Teatro Lirico in Milan, the composer impressed the Italian public with an enthusiastic reception for *Adriana Lecouvreur*, a four-act opera with a libretto by Arturo Colatti.

Figure 7. Cilea, *Gina*, 1889, Act 1, Duet, scene 3 and Analytical Reduction, bb.1-17.



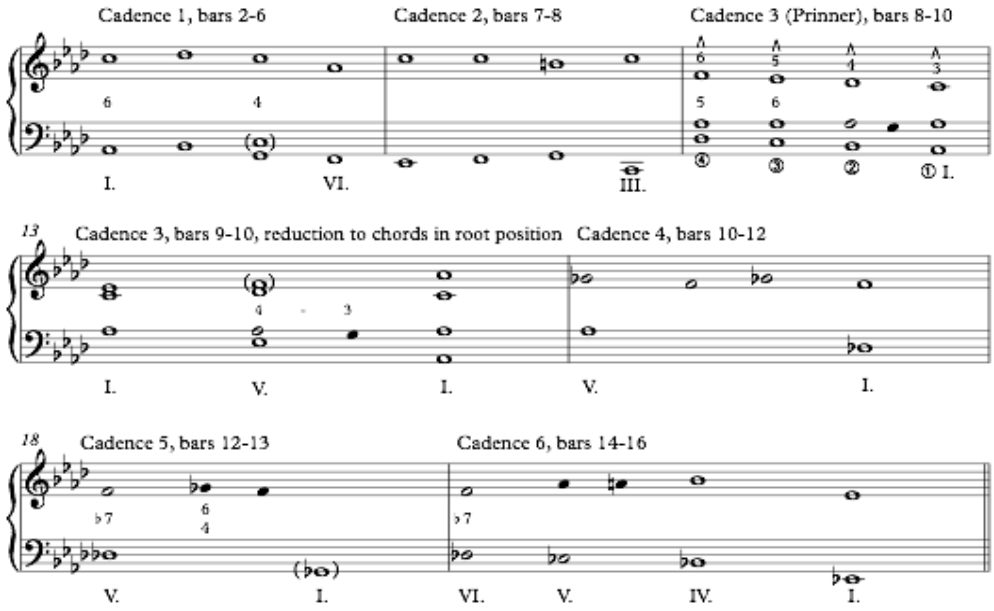
The opera is set in 18th-century Paris and based upon a play by Eugène Scribé. Today, *Adriana Lecouvreur* is seen as Cilea's signature opera, best known to international audiences. The cast included the famous soprano Angelica Pandolfini as Adriana, Enrico Caruso as Maurizio, and Giuseppe De Luca as Michoneet.

Initially, in the performance, the Comédie Française Company is preparing for a Racine tragedy performance, which will include the famous actress Adriana Lecouvreur and Madamoiselle Duclos, her rival. Adriana appears, rehearsing her singing and then launches into the well-known aria *Io son l'umile ancella del genio creator* ("I am the humble servant of the creative genius"), as shown in example 4. In this aria, Cilea introduces his favourite and beloved personage. She is an artist, a historical figure, who claims to be the servant to her dramatic art and the music itself. Adriana confirms her devotion to the music, to the art of singing *Del verso io sono l'accento* ('I am the verse's music'), as demonstrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur*, 1902, act 1, scene 1, *Io son l'umile ancella*, bb-1-16.



Figure 9. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur,* act 1, scene 1, Analytical Reduction, bb.1-16.



After a few bars in which Cilea introduces her deeply moving melody, based on cadence movements as shown in the above analytical reduction, (figure 9) Cilea describes this devotion to verse and Italian art, with a clear example of the typical traditional *compound cadences,* which we have seen in the chapter 1. It should be emphasised that the nature of cadences and their importance in learning composition were essential in Neapolitan pedagogy. They might have different functions, and we can find them using triads in root positions as well as the first or second inversion. Yet the standard versions by Fenaroli were still well known at the time of Cilea's studies in Naples and elsewhere in Italy, from musicians', teachers' and audiences' familiarity with these standard lessons. As we saw above, Cilea started his studies by learning standard cadences. His progression from formula exercises of cadences, scales, bass motions, and this conservative practice of counterpoint, was what Cilea meant by *italianitá* reflected as *topos* in his arias, duets or instrumental pieces. In fact, a compound cadence, (*cadenza composta*) has two metrical units on the dominant and use a 4-3 suspension on V.

In terms of music construction, Cilea used a clear example of a well-known cadenza composta, using a 4-3 suspension on V on a regular bass motion. Here he uses the

letter ‘I’ in first inversion (III6), and the V in second inversion (II3-4) and with the suspension of the 6 (7–6). In other words, the typical standard compound cadence on I-V4-3-I, which is placed as evidence in the first chapter. The presence of another standard schema, emphasising the compound candence, the *Prinner*, as seen in the first chapter, confirms Cilea’s intention to use a typical Italian 18th century scheme, closed to a ‘galant’ vocabulary, as musical colour which actually recalls Adriana Lecouvreur’s background.

This typical Galant exemplar could be traditionally connected with the eighteen-century *milieu,* in which Adriana sings out her ‘artistic faith’. The same compound cadenza is repeated in the following bars 11–12, this time with the I in the second inversion followed by V in root position, followed by a chromatic passage which modulates in the main key (*tonalita’ d’impianto*), ending again with a II-V-I cadence. Here we find a well adorned and elaborated conservative musical procedure based on the same Neapolitan cadences that Cilea learnt when he was a student. The composer presumably intended to associate a typical exercise based on a conventional construction to evoke his devotion (through Adriana’s actual devotion) from a reminiscent formula that gave rise to such a beautiful melody.

In other words, the recalls of galant’s patterns might represent a meaningful musical recall, providing specific musical colours on the character of a musical phrase. This is one more example suggesting the capacity of partimento scheme, at the end of the nineteenth century in operatic context, to evoke musical associations in the contemporary harmonic language. As explained in the previous chapters, this analytical approach does not pretend to assert in dogmatic way what late nineteenth century operatic composers certainly thought during their compositional process but rather aim to shed light on how the legacy of the past, promoted by the study of Neapolitan school to consolidate the study of the tonal harmony, could be an integral part of the language and the musical expressive means of the Giovane Scuola works.

Returning to the background of the first act of our sample opera, Adriana rehearses the lines of a Racine tragedy to be performed imminently, and the theatre stage manager, Miconnet, is left alone with her, declaring his love for her. However, Adriana admits to her love for Maurizio, secretly the Prince of Saxony but disguised as a

soldier, and who is to come to hear her play. Indeed, this man she loves is not who he appears to be and is indeed the Prince himself, in search of political support. This handsome aristocrat has his sights set on the Princess of Bouillon, wife of the Prince de Bouillon, for political reasons. Nevertheless, Adriana renews her promise of love, and Maurizio declares his passion for Adriana, singing *La dolcissima effigie sorridente* ('The sweet smiling effigy') as shown in Figure 10

Figure 10. Cilea, Adriana Lécouvreur, act 1, scene 3, *La dolcissima effigie*, bb.1-12 .



Once again, Cilea, chooses typical Neapolitan patterns, which serve to reinforce the guiding melody sung by Maurizio. The main theme, in fact, may be regarded as just a fragment of RdO[246] which is based on, once again, conventional cadential movement (I-V-I-V-IV-V), as shown in figure 11, followed by a descending scale using the

[246] In the analytical reduction, I considered the chord at bar 1 as a I in first inversion (III6) with the omission of the root note and the *appoggiatura* of the 6th. This interoperation is based on the harmonic context, as the previous passage clearly shows a modulation towards the Ab major key.

technique connected with one more important scheme, such as the parallel sixth chords, which appear in countless *partimento* sources.[247]

Figure 11. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur*, act 1, scene 3, *La dolcissima effige,* Analytical Reduction, bb.1-12.



The descending 6-6 model is one of the variants used to harmonise scales, known by Tritto, Valente, Fenaroli and many others – a model familiar to every genre of music during the eighteen and nineteenth century, in particular sacred or church music and other music using *basso continuo* models.

I shall recall that Cilea himself, as late as 1926, wrote:

> To our young musicians, who bring here the freshness of their genius and the ardor of their dreams, I address a warning not to scramble desperately to look for extravagant originality. In such effort, it is very easy to lose sight of the essential reality that is classic, but always new and exciting.[248]

It might not be a surprise to observe traditional compositional schemes, although modernised and elaborated, but always testifying a prestigious legacy, which Cilea and his audience would recognise as distinctly Italian music.[249] This point of view might be inspiring for further researches and considers not only the fact that operatic composers faced the prospect of a greater independence and artistic individual

[247] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p.141.
[248] See the mentioned study *Francesco Cilea*, p. 26
[249] A fascinating study on the connection between the musical conventions and the public in the Early Nineteenth-century instrumental music but significant to understand the last echoes of this analytical approach, at the end of the century, has been written by Janet Schmalfeldt, *In the Process of Becoming. Analytical and philosophical Perspectives on Form in Early Nineteenth-Century Music*, New York, Oxford Studies in Music Theory, 2011.

freedoms but also that a musically educated audience, supported by music academies, societies and industry of opera and cultural milieu observed in the chapter one, were familiar with the Italian compositional patterns which Cilea intended to use to colour a specific musical passage In other words the transmission of musical conventions, colours, topoi or cliché' in the Giovane Scuola's operas, recalling the past Italian compositional tradition, could have played a " public" and artistic role in the formation of their musical language and style which has never been considered before.

This and other musical analytical examples suggest that there may be patterns distinctly Italian and belonging to Giovane Scuola training and artistic *credo*, as demonstrated for Giacomo Puccini, about the use of techniques which were essential in the musical and formal conventions in the late nineteenth century operatic language. This is the aspect, which characterises the use of a musical patrimony otherwise common to other Italian and European musical genres and composers that here assumes a significant presence and a conscious use within the operatic musical production of the last Italian operatic seasons.

Returning to Cilea's opera, after singing this aesthetically emotive melody, Adriana gives him a bouquet of violets and Maurizio leaves the stage, planning to meet her after the performance. Meanwhile the Abbott hands the Prince of Bouillon a letter from Mademoiselle Duclos, which is a political meeting for that evening in the usual cottage, with it needing to be delivered to the opera box of the Count of Saxony. The Prince therefore believes that Mademoiselle Duclos has arranged this appointment at the venue he had provided, and thus invites a group of friends for dinner there in order to surprise her. However, the guests mock the Prince because they know that the letter was written on behalf of his wife, the Princess of Bouillon.

In Duclos' home, the Princess of Bouillon anxiously awaits Maurizio, singing the aria '*Acerba volutta*' as he arrives late (Example 8). The Princess sings her anxiety, her 'slow agony, quick offence, frost, tremor, restlessness, fear, for the lover who waits expectantly'.

Acerba voluttà, dolce tortura,
lentissima agonia, rapida offesa,
vampa, gelo, tremor, smania, paura,
ad amoroso sen torna l'attesa!
Ogni eco, ogni ombra nella notte incesa
centro la impaziente alma congiura:
fra dubbiezza e disio tutta sospesa,
l'eternità nell'attimo misura…
Verrà? M'oblia? S'affretta?
[…].

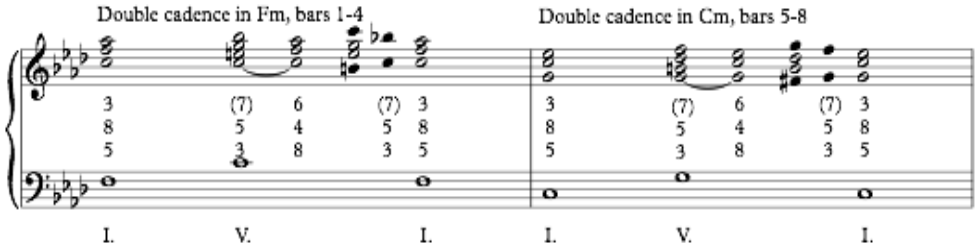
Figure 12. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur*, Act 2, scene 1, *Acerba voluttà,* bb.1-9.



Here the composer creates a notably dramatic moment, full of theatrical atmosphere and suspense. Yet again Cilea exploits traditional Neapolitan devices to achieve an effect of the Neapolitan pedagogy on his masterpiece and his legacy.

As shown in the Figure 13, (Analytical reduction 1) the composer exploits cadences: in bars 1–4 and 5–8, he twice employs a compound cadence, rhythmically altered by the use of a syncopation, which is justified by the dramatic context. Using a syncopation to express the Princess's panic is the original element used by Cilea at the end of the nineteenth century, but he chose, as Puccini did in several examples of his early operas[250], a conservative pattern based on the typical compositional old school, which moulded the young Cilea.

Figure 13. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur*, Act 2, scene 1, *Acerba voluttà,* Analytical Reduction, 1, bb. 1-9.



Analytical Reduction 2. bb 5-8.



Furthermore, the second cadenza in the example (bars 5–8) shows Cilea's reference to the Quiescenza model (analytical reduction 2) as seen in the first chapter. This example once again would suggest that Cilea probably used a favoured music pattern from Paris between the 1760s and 1790s, while Adriana Lecouvreur is set in the eighteenth century in a typical Galant style atmosphere. Did Cilea deliberately wanted to use partimento patterns recalling the eighteenth century musical language in this operatic work set up in the same century where these musical vocabularies were widely used? Surely the presence of these schema might help to highlight the musical

[250] See Baragwanath, *The Italian Tradition &Puccini*, 2012.

rhetoric and the possible means in Cilea's musical *zibaldone,* which could include the past compositional practice, the contemporary harmonic language and the dialogue between them.

I would like to highlight one more example. In act four**,** the final act, Adriana receives a visit of actor friends who invite her to return with them because she is retired from the theatre, and she agrees. She is presented with a box of violets. Adriana sniffs them, imagining that Maurizio sent them as a sign that he no longer loves her; in a gesture of rage she throws them into the flames. The conclusion of this great work indulges in the death of Adriana, immediately after receiving the visit of Maurizio and Michonnet. The violets were in fact poisoned and they had come from the Princess of Bouillon. The famous aria '*Poveri fiori*' (Poor flowers) reveals Adriana's most dramatic moment of act four and one of the most impressive musical moments of Cilea's operatic creation. (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur*, act 4, scene 1, *Poveri fiori*. bb.1-13.

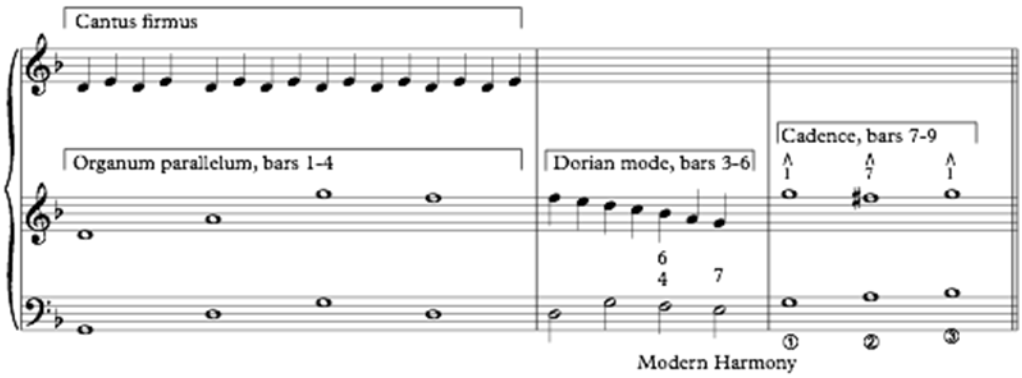


The huge quantity of *solfeggi*[251] manuscripts conserved at the Neapolitan Conservatoire Library might have continued to be studied by young students at the end of the nineteenth century to create amazing melodies such as the aria of the fourth act in *Adriana*. Figure 14 reproduces a reduction, which clearly shows the influence of the study of sacred music, *solfeggi* traditions and of the great debt to the vocal singing practice as essential contributions within Cilea's music works. The repeated melody used as a *cantus firmus*, demonstrated in the upper voice with *vox principalis,* together with a *vox organalis,* elaborating a subset of *organum parallelum,* followed

[251] Nicholas Baragwanath describes technique of solemnizing according to eighteenth century Italian sources in *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art of Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century*, in press.

by a descending scale in the upper voice, in which a dorian mode pattern is contrasted by a nineteenth century harmony. Moreover, Cilea concludes his melody with another typical cadence as support and reinforcement, which could be recalled to the modern reader as another Galant counterpoint scheme, the Do-Re-Mi as shown in the first chapter. (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Cilea, *Adriana Lécouvreur*, act 4, scene 1, *Poveri fiori*, Analytical Reduction, bb. 1-13.



In this work, I have not investigated the renewed interest for ecclesiastic modes during the second half of the nineteenth century, yet ecclesiastic patterns were certainly sequential melodic counterpoint exercises still designed to teach skills in harmony and counterpoint and melodic composition, for the last great Italian opera composers. The centuries-old tradition of the Neapolitan conservatories, for which the students had to compose sacred music as assessment of their studies along with service to the church, was still alive when Francesco Cilea was a student. Cilea's litanies were composed over 1881–1882, his productive period in Naples. Even by the end of the nineteenth century, the *Chiesa della Pieta' dei Turchini* still housed these student works.

The first litany,[252] *per coro di bassi e organo*, in E Major, reproduced in Figure 16, is particularly interesting because it identifies one of the most common eighteenth-

[252] *Litanie scritte per le funzioni della Chiesa Pieta' dei Turchini dal primo alunno Francesco Cilea, R. Collegio di Musica Napoli.* Biblioteca Museo di Palmi (RC), Ms.mus.15. I am indebted to Gaetano Pitarresi for making aware of this source and sharing with me the original autograph which I could study. More details about the Catalogue of musical manuscripts at the Museo "Cilea" di Palmi can be found in Gaetano Pitarresi, "Catalgo dei manoscritti musicali di Francesco Cilea presso il Museo 'Cilea' di Palmi", in *La Dolcissima effigie, Studi su Francesco Cilea*, edited by Gaetano Pitarresi, pp. 333–390.

century formula of ecclesiastic works: a complete chromatic descending scale to conclude. (Figure 16 and 17).

Figure 16. Cilea, *Litania per coro di bassi e organo*.



Figure 17. Cilea, *Litania per coro di bassi e organo*, Analytical Reduction.



Figure 18: Saverio Valente, example of *scala cromatica discendente*[253]



[253] See Saverio Valente, *Partimenti. Principi di Cembalo del Sig.r D. Saverio Valente Accademico Filarmonico*. MS: Milan (I-Mc) Noseda Q 13–15.

Saverio Valente, a famous teacher in counterpoint at the *Reale Collegio di Musica San Pietro a Majella* and a prolific composer of sacred works, is the only author offering a description of this scale with its variants.[254] As for every *partimento* scheme (figure 18), the scale is not fixed in written rules only, but could have different applications as Cilea elaborated for his early sacred composition. (ex, bb 13–16).

At the end of the nineteenth century in Italy, *musica antica* –ancient music – was undergoing a revival of interest thanks to the efforts of conservatoires reorganizing of their institutions' curricula. Naples, owing to its traditions, affirmed the need to restore the study of counterpoint in line with their old compositional school and also a willingness to investigate the works of sacred music composers considered essential for students. This allure of the past was promoted in the Italian nineteenth century by Pietro Platania, as we have seen in this chapter. At San Pietro a Majella, sacred works such as Leo's *Miserere*, Palestrina's works, Zingarelli's sacred *mottetti* and masses, Nicola Porpora's oratorios, Benedetto Marcello's *Salmi*, Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, and Durante's madrigals, were all considered an essential part of music training for all students.

It is not surprising to find *solfeggi* and *partimenti's* legacy in composers such as Francesco Cilea, Giacomo Puccini or Mascagni. My following chapter on Umberto Giordano will show more examples of how much the heritage of this old conservative tradition reinforced its musical skills.

[254] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, 146.

4.3 Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano's Fugues: An analytical approach.

As part of a student's training and assessment, as we similarly observe today with graduates in composition, Cilea and all *Verismo* composers needed to have practised and composed fugues, which is still considered the most arduous passage for becoming a professional composer. In this work, I am not investigating the compositional tradition of fugues at the end of the nineteenth century; nevertheless, having often dwelt on the fugues of Cilea and Giordano during my own formal study with composition teachers in Rome, I was alarmed to realise that these fugues were considered full of errors, and thus are improper works which nowadays would not pass any examination. The question arises, therefore, why and how these merit and prize-winning student composers could have composed such poor-quality works. Alfred Mann usefully sums up the fundamental inconsistency inherent in the German-centric model, with particular reference to Johann Sebastian Bach:

> The term fugue holds a particular fascination for the student of music […]. Where did it originate, what is its true meaning? As a rule, we associate this concept with the music of Bach, and we are apt to assume that several generations prepared the ground for what in his work became a final form not essentially changed since. […]. Curiously, the name Bach has symbolised not only the beginning and end but also the perfection and imperfection of fugal art […]. The modern conflict between theory and practice can only be resolved through historical study. […]. Through the perspective of history, it becomes clear that the term fugue-like the terms sonata and concerto- held different meanings at different times, and that we fail to understand it if we speak of the 'fugue proper'. [255]

Mann's work is not a recent study, but the general point of view is still at the base of the student's books on fugue and of the musicological *corpus*[256] dedicated to the study of the fugue as form.

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[255] Alfred Mann, *The Study of Fugue*, Dover Editions, New York, 1981, pp. ix-x.
[256] Amongst the recent musicological studies dedicated to the fugue focusing on the above mentioned analytical approach, I should mention David Ledbetter, *Bach's Well-tempered Clavier. The 48 Preludes and Fugues*, London, Yale University Press, 2002; *Music Analysis in*

The serious problem with Mann's observation lies in his constant underestimation of the Italian contribution, which, in the nineteenth century, was still seen as autonomous and relevant. The author gives voice to a widespread prejudice even today in modern musicology. The tradition emanating from the Italian Renaissance masters, and with it the perfection of fugal art, had moved to the north, so, the modern pedagogy of fugal writing developed in the northern countries.[257] The history of music theory was not built on written treaties, it evolves organically. If a modern music theorist or historian seeks sources in European libraries, they will find hundreds of manuscripts which reveal a different history of music and theory. Italian pedagogic traditions were not extinct after the great contrapuntal season during the Renaissance. As we saw, this tradition was still alive at least at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The contemporary paradigm holds that the supremacy of the Italian counterpoint around 1650-1700 has diminished and the focus of great counterpoint teaching has transferred to Germany due to the presence of composers like Händel and Bach. A scholarly milestone such as Marpurg's work[258] remained a point of reference for the successive elaborations, which have kept the terminology in use in the literature itself. Another text such as Kennan's *Counterpoint based on Eighteenth-Century Practice*[259] is still studied as a key teaching manual on fugue, considered a seminal reference on Bach's fugues. However, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do have very different and vivid traditions of teaching. Authors such as Alessandro Scarlatti,[260] Leonardo Leo,[261] Nicola Sala,[262] for example, do not contain German or French models; Cherubini[263] and Fétis[264] established ideal models in their treaties on the study

the Nineteenth century. Fugue: Form and Style, edited by Ian Bent, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

[257] Mann, *The Study of Fugue*, p. 49.

[258] Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge*, Berlin 1753–54.

[259] Kent Kennan, *Counterpoint based on Eighteenth-Century Practice,* Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1959.

[260] Alessandro Scarlatti, *Opera Omnia per strumento a tastiera, Vol.IV: Toccate e composizioni varie*, Andrea Macinanti e Francesco Tasini (edited by), Bologna, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2008; *Sonate per cembalo*, Emilia Fadini (edited by), Critical edition, Milan, Ricordi, 1987–2006.

[261] Leonardo Leo, *Le composizioni per tastiera*, Rome, Cosimo Prontera, Il Melograno, 2003.

[262] An essential study of Sala's *Regole* is exploited in Gaetano Stella, "Le 'Regole del contrappunto pratico' di Nicola Sala. Una testimonianza sulla didattica della fuga nel Settecento napoletano", Rivista di Analisi Musicale, 2009. pp.

[263] Luigi Cherubini, *Cours de counterpoint et de Fugue*, Paris, Maurice Schlesinger, 1835.

[264] Joseph-François Fétis, *Traité de la fugue et du contrepoint*, Paris, 1824.

of the fugue, in the case of the former sphere of influence, while authors such as Hugo Riemann and Adolf Marx established them in the case of the latter sphere.

The following examples taken from Francesco Cilea and Umberto Giordano's early fugues, show some characteristics of leaks, which in the late nineteenth century were still alive and were regarded as a distinct pedagogic tradition.

According to the practice of fugue in the Neapolitan school,[265] the subject is not necessarily accompanied by a countersubject following the rules of double counterpoint. It can be observed in the following example from Giordano that the fugue lacks a countersubject and the parts accompanying the subject are free counterpoints only. The following example, in figure 19, is taken from a *Fuga a cinque parti*[266] composed by Umberto Giordano when he was student.

[265] Bruno Gingras, "Partimento-fugue in Eighteenth Century Germany: A bridge Between Thoroughbass Lessons and Fugal Composition", in *Eighteenth-Century Music, 5/1*, 2008, pp. 51–74;64. Giorgio Sanguinetti, "*Partimento-Fugue:* The Neapolitan Angle", in Partimento and Continuo Playing in *Theory and in Practice,* Collected Writings of the Orpheus Institute, Leuven University Press 2010, pp. 71–111.
[266] Umberto Giordano, *Fuga a cinque parti,* Biblioteca San Pietro a Majella, Napoli, Rari 4.5.12(5)

Figure 19. Giordano, *Fuga a cinque parti*. (Exposition), bb.1-20.



Moreover, the first entrance of the subject is often not presented in the 'naked' or unaccompanied form, and it can diverge from the Bachian rule in different ways. From the very beginning of the fugue, the subject can be accompanied by either a second subject, in which case the Neapolitan masters call it a '*contrasoggetto*'[267]

[267] Giacomo Tritto, *Scuola di contrappunto ossia Teoria Musicale*, Milan, Artaria, 1816, p. 31.

differentiated from the '*controsoggetto*' in that it is not always in double counterpoint, or by a free accompanying part.

In this excerpt (Figure 20), from a *Fugue a 5 voci* written by Giordano[268], the subject is accompanied by a second subject from its first entrance:

Figure 20. Giordano, *Fuga a cinque voci, bb.1-6.*



[268] Umberto Giordano, *Fuga a 5 voci*, Biblioteca San Pietro a Majella, Napoli, NA Rari 4.5.12(6).

Alternatively, Cilea[269] accompanies the subject with both a free part and the answer in canon (figure 21), resembling the *fuga imitata* following the model suggested by Pietro Platania.[270]

Figure 21. Cilea, *Esame di Diploma Fuga a 5 voci, 1889,* (*Esposizione*), bb.1-11.



[269] F. Cilea, *Soggetto del Direttore P. Platania - Esame di Diploma| Fuga a 5 voci,* Martedi 13 Agosto 1889, Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Napoli, NA - Rari 4.5.1(24)
[270] See Pietro Platania, *Trattato d'Armonia*, p. 22.

This excerpt also offers further elements peculiar to this school. With regard to the form, the Neapolitan exposition model presents, in fact, a rather flexible shape, if compared, for instance, to the Bachian fugues.[271] The number of entries of the subject and the answer are not necessarily equal to the number of voices in the fugue (i.e. three voices = three entries). In the *Fuga a 5 voici* example by Cilea, the subject and the answer appear only in three out of the five voices.

This apparently asymmetrical structure will be partially counterbalanced after the first episode where Cilea practices a counter-exposition, almost a 'weak' *repercussio* in the fundamental key that allows the subject and the answer to be heard twice more before the subsequent change of key. The irregular number of entries can also be found in figure 22 – *Fuga a 5 voci* by the young Giordano.

271

Figure 22. Giordano, *Fuga a 5 voci,* (Exposition), bb.1-10.



Another crucial feature of the Neapolitan school is the frequent use of *partimenti* inside the episodes, as shown in figure 23, 24 and 25. These can elaborate patterns of bass movement (implying chord progressions either in root-inverted position) to use *romanesca*, just to cite one example.

Figure 23: F. Cilea, *Fuga su tema del M.o Nicola d'Arienzo*, 1885, [272] bb.1-4.



Figure 24. Cilea, *Fuga a 5 voci su tema,* bb.1-5.



[272] Francesco Cilea, *Fuga su tema del M.o Nicola d'Arienzo, Fuga composta all'esame finale dell'anno scolastico 1884–1885: 21 agosto 1885*. Biblioteca del conservatorio di Napoli, NA - Rari 4.5.1(22)

Figure 25 & 26, Cilea, *Fuga a 5, esame di Diploma, 1889.* [273]





[273] Francesco Cilea, *Soggetto del Direttore P. Platania - Esame di Diploma, Fuga a 5, soggetto del Direttore P. Platania, Martedi 13 Agosto 1889*, Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, NA - Rari 4.5.1(24)

Ultimately, the most distinctive trait of Neapolitan fugues is the frequent practice of a sole *repercussio* (the subject's re-exposition in a transposed shape) in the key of the subdominant. Instead of having two or three repercussions, the first of which usually is the relative minor or major key, the Neapolitan master prescribed the pupils a modulation to a IV[274], as demonstrated in figure 27.

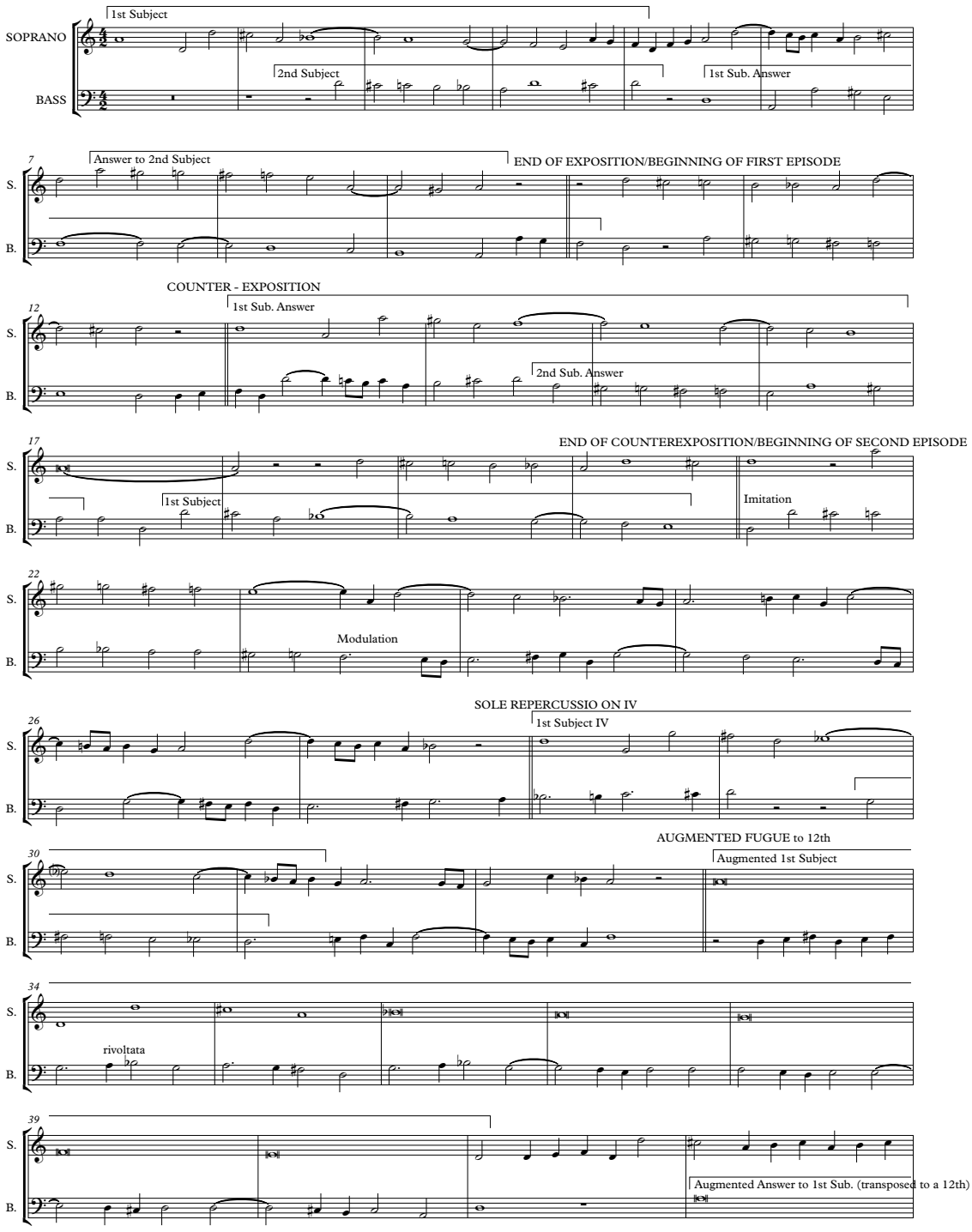
Figure 27. Giordano, *Fuga a due soggetti,* bb.1-40.



[274] Gaetano Stella, "Le Regole del contrappunto pratico di Nicola Sala: una testimonianza sulla didattica della fuga nel Settecento napoletano", pp. 116–38

Such practice, as well as the other traits previously discussed, can be traced back to the models of Sala, as in the following fugue taken from his book[275].

Figure 28. Nicola Sala, *Fuga a due voci per gli studiosi scolari*, bb.1-87.



[275] Nicola Sala, *Il modo di fare la fuga a due voci per li studiosi scolari,* Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, NA - 20.6.1(8) quoted in Gaetano Stella, *Un compositore erudito nel secondo Ottocento italiano, P. Platania*, pp. 205–206.



If a model of fugue were deemed to be only those expressed via the works of Bach and the treaties of the German and French worlds, it would imply that the fugues of Verdi as well as those of Cilea, Puccini, Catalani and Giordano are flawed. However, in this short journey, we have explored a handful of examples illuminating the

unambiguous characteristics of Cilea's and Giordano's early works and also clearly proven that the German and French schools on fugue compositional practice were neither dominant nor considered the quintessential schools for musicians during the end of the nineteenth century.

The tension over the fugue as theory and as practice has been one of the most intriguing debates of music theory in the recent years. The notebooks and exercises of these opera composers and other musicians can enlighten us on the wealth of traditions that require proper attention to study to truly appreciate our musical heritage.

CHAPTER 5

THE LAST GREAT OPERA COMPOSER OF THE GIOVANE SCUOLA: UMBERTO GIORDANO AND THE ITALIAN THEORETICAL TRADITIONS

One of the most influential and important critics in Italy during the nineteenth century, Francesco D'Arcais (1830–1890), reviewed the Giovane Scuola composers:

> It looked like all musicians became free from a nightmare: the one in which, after Verdi's death, nobody could revive our glorious period of the great Italian opera season. [276]

The dawn for composers of the *Giovane Scuola* emerging over the Italian musical horizon was largely a competition organised by Edmondo Sonzogno in 1888. The *Giovane Scuola*, as we have seen in previous chapters, principally Alfredo Catalani, Francesco Cilea, Giacomo Puccini and Pietro Mascagni, comprised of those who continued the grand musical and theatrical heritage of Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Boito and Verdi heritages. The other pedestal of this generation was Umberto Giordano.

Once again, the mainstream historians, influenced by German musicology,[277] which still tends to reduce the entirety of music history to the often-cited gulf between the golden age of German instrumental music and the poor but significant epoch of Italian opera seasons. It tends to ignore, or at least consider, these artists as mere minor composers despite the four-century generation of a musical genre. Thus, the German romanticism approach towards the history of opera again does not assist in understanding the fertile ground of composers such as Umberto Giordano and their compositional practice, especially given its persistent emphasis on quantifying and

[276] The quotation is mentioned in Daniele Cellammare, *Umberto Giordano. 'Com'era irradiato di Gloria il mio cammino'*; Rome, Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1963, p.14.

[277] Although is focused on Verdi, the study by Gundula Kreuzer observes the German's musical supremacy in opposite to the popularity of Italian opera and the figure of Verdi but also a new perspective on Italian and German nationalism and identity in the nineteenth century: Gundula Kreuzer*, Verdi and the Germans. From Unification to the Third Reich*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

exploring the range of Wagnerian influences, which are said to be evident in Giordano's opera. Equally, it is claimed to be more usefully evaluated by measuring the degree to which the harmony and compositional practice might have been imbued with more dignity had musicians of the German traditions like Wagner influenced it. Once again, such rigid perception leads to consideration of 'old-fashioned harmonies' and much compositional practice simply in relation to French and German music styles, in which Italians, apparently, 'were temperamentally uninterested' This approach is confirmed by studies written by scholars such as Marcello Conati, Virgilio Barnardoni, Aldo Nicastro[278] who represent the first steps of some of the composers' analytical studies.

Other works, still a reference of Giordano's biographies and studies, are still worth mentioning such as Cellamare's volume *Umberto Giordano,*[279] which contains a detailed biography and documents regarding the composer's early critical reception of his operas, letters and rare images, edited by Mario Morini.[280] However, these books are not recent studies dedicated to Giordano's figure and do not consider the musician's early studies, the importance of the documents preserved in the Neapolitan conservatoire and any analytical approach, which reflects the legacy of Giordano's compositional practice traditions. The poor bibliography dedicated to this musician is a notable lack in the studies dedicated to the work of the late nineteenth century.[281]

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[278] Marcello Conati, "Il linguaggio musicale in Andrea Chénier di Umberto Giordano"; Virgilio Bernardoni, "Il linguaggio musicale della Fedora di Umberto Giordano and Aldo Nicastro, I due toni di Madame Sans-Gêne" in *Ultimi splendori, Cilea, Giordano, Alfano*, 1999. This mentioned volume contains other studies on Umberto Giordano which represent significant contribution in the Giordano's musicological literature which is very small comparing to other operatic composers of the nineteenth century.

[279] See the mentioned Daniele Cellamare, *Umberto Giordano*, 1967.

[280] Mario Morini, *Umberto Giordano*, Milan, Casa Musicale Sonzogno, 1968.

[281] The mentioned study on the late nineteenth century Italian opera by Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera* (2007) contains a chapter dedicated to Giordano's life and his operatic success. Important documents are the letters by Giordano edited by Carmen Battiante, *Diari di Umberto Girodano*, Foggia, Fondazione Banca del Monte Domenico Siniscalco Ceci, 2013. I should mention also the small volume published in occasion of Giordano's death anniversary: *Umberto Giordano 1948–2008*, edited by Carmen Battiante, Foggia, Fondazione Musicalia, 2008 and the work of Fiamma Nicolidi, *Musica e musicisti nel ventennio fascista*, Nuova Italia, 1984 which includes a section dedicated to Umberto Giordano and his musical figure during the Fascism era.

Far from being a progressive in a Wagnerian sense, Giordano, since his student life and through the spawning of his career, had a rigorous training that was heavily influenced by the long respected and substantial Italian pedagogical music traditions, as we saw with Catalani and Cilea. Yet, if modern musical opinion persists in evaluating nineteenth century composers like Giordano within a conceptual framework holding music to be progressive only in relation to the language of Wagner or French opera composers, we will never be able to fully understand their legacy and their operas.

In this chapter, I have selected certain examples for music analysis, which will serve as evidence to prove that he deliberately chose to be a *maestro di musica* dedicated to preserve and cherish some of the traditions of the Italian school. Both his music and musical studies clearly set him apart from the German Romantic perspective on uncompromised genius. Re-quoting from Giordano's letter in 1929, when he was already a famous and successful composer, his emphasis on identifying with his heritage denoting great honour is clear:

> I love the fertile land where I was born, and I am also proud to have predecessors in the art in the form of the immortal Traetta, Piccinni, Paisiello [and] Mercadante, with whom I shall never be equal.[282]

Both Giordano and his rival Giacomo Puccini quoted composers far from their contemporary or predecessor traditions. In Baragwanath's work on the history of Puccini's period and its music theory, he ponders on why they might have revered these old masters and not others of the time, even as late as the closing of the 1920s:

> Why would Puccini define himself as a 'true successor' to Boccherini, an eighteenth-century Lucchese cellist and composer noted for instrumental music, rather than, say, Pacini or Verdi? How many conservatory students of the 1880s, especially budding opera composers, would have measured their artistic worth against such an outdated, unfashionable, and seemingly irrelevant figure*?* [283]

[282] The letter to G. Capaldi of 1926 is quoted in Mario Morini, *Umberto Giordano*, p. 99.
[283] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*, p. 38.

As mentioned above, curiously, not one of Giordano's biographers have seriously queried his simple and proud focus on archaic musical patterns and contrapuntal styles that he had earnestly studied as a young man. The student years of Umberto Giordano may therefore be of great importance to understand his later professional compositional output, when he was admired as a significant composer of his time.

5.1 Giordano – the student

Umberto Menotti Maria Giordano was born in Foggia, Puglia on 27 August 1867. He was not a bright student initially and the results were not impressive; the boy failed his entrance exam in 1881. Nevertheless, Paul Serrao, Francesco Cilea's teacher as mentioned in chapter four, and a member of the assessment committee, despite the poor test performance, placed trust in the boy's potential as stated in his words below:

> However, the two compositions have drawn the attention of the committee and especially mine. This competition has not given any results today, but it will be repeated in six months. Let the child stay in Naples and I will provide lessons for free: in six months, he will reappear for the exams and I am sure that he will succeed. [284]

Giordano followed Maestro Serrao's instructions for six subsequent months, during which he enjoyed the opportunity to study Fenaroli's *Partimenti* thanks to his father's engineer friend, Gaetano Briganti, who had a copy delivered to the young student, as documented in a letter he wrote in 1882:

> I send a copy of the four books comprising Fenaroli's partimenti, which you will retain as my gift and I hope they will be auspicious for your career. I recommend you study them carefully because from the study of partimenti, a mere musician can become a professional musician […]. [285]

[284] Battiante, *Diari di Umberto Giordano*, p. 42
[285] Cellamare, *Umberto Giordano*, p. 12

Giordano was later admitted with honours to the prestigious *Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella* on 9th November 1882. During his student years, Francesco Florimo, noting Giordano's promising development, reported that:

> He presents the brightest hope for the Italian musical art on which this conservatoire pins its hopes for the future and its lustre for the continuation of the glory of yesteryear. [286]

During his studies with Paolo Serrao, Giordano learnt the basis of the organ with Enrico Bossi and pianoforte with Giuseppe Martucci. It is important to note in particular the study of the organ, which was still part of musical training at the end of the nineteenth century in Italy. The Neapolitan methods were remained heavily influenced by the study of sacred music, as we saw in the previous chapter, by organ works and a conservative tradition. An investigation into the teaching of composition to Umberto Giordano clearly shows the dominant role of counterpoint in the training of composers. Several mutual influences with Cilea's training are evident within it, as they studied in the same classes at the same time at the Neapolitan conservatory. Examining Giordano's notebooks leads us to documents never analysed before, as there were in the cases of the other *Giovane Scuola*.

In the following part of this chapter, I will provide numerous examples from original autographs, which might clarify, for historians and theorists, the pedagogical traditions at the time of music and operas of Umberto Giordano. These will lead to deeper comprehension of his musical composition processes during his professional activity. The notebooks, preserved at the San Pietro a Majella Conservatory in Naples,[287] elucidate for us the conservative and sustained pedagogic traditions, which enabled musicians to retain the right to keep a foot firmly planted in the past while becoming modern composers. Appendix 2 lists Giordano's copybooks with the catalogue number of the Conservatory archive where they are preserved, along with year, month

[286] 'Presenta le più belle speranze per l'arte musicale italiana e su cui questo Collegio spera molto per il suo lustro avvenire e per la continuazione della gloria dei tempi passati'. The letter, in my own translation, is quoted in Cellamare, *Umberto Giordano*, p. 15–16.

[287] Umberto Giordano, *Corso di Contrappunto a due e tre parti*, I.Nc, Ms Rari 4.5.12 (1–3). For title and more detailed descriptions of these counterpoint manuscripts, see appendix II.

(when available), title, teacher's name and call numbers of each individual notebook. Close inspection of the contents led us to critical findings from these autographs.

Initially, we examined the *Corso di contrappunto a due parti* (1882–1883),[288] which is invaluable evidence of Giordano's apprenticeship. According to the Neapolitan method, the study of the counterpoint as foundational began with a series of *cadenze* or cadences, as we observed in Cilea's contrapuntal studies as well. Following the Neapolitan teaching, elementary cadences were used to introduce a student to tonal structuring using an opening tonic, a central dominant, and a closing tonic. Giordano's teacher, Paolo Serrao, encouraged his student to write from four to six basic cadences with whole notes, following the five contrapuntal species. Then the student was required to elaborate them using the art of diminution, as illustrated in figure 1 (a – b).[289]

[288] It should be noted that Giordano's *Contrappunto* notebook, as well as Cilea's study analyzed in chapter four, has the same approach of Nicola Sala's *Trattato di contrappunto*. Giordano's notebook follows the same proceed to practice on counterpoint: *Cadenze, Contrappunti sulla scala, Salti*.

[289] Figure 1 and 2 reproduce examples taken from Giordano's notebook.

Figure 1 (a). Giordano, *Corso di contrappunto a due voci,* 1882-1883, *Cadenze.*





Different from the modern approach, cadences were not only a usual closing formula, the notebook also clearly shows the importance of these tonal structures to acquire the basis of compositional practice, using them as an instrument of tonal coherence and as an essential pattern of all tonal musical structures.

Another section (figure 1 b) introduces a pre-dominant scale degree, such as IV and the student could work on the main harmonic degrees involved in cadences I-V-I then I-IV-V-I, creating what Neapolitan masters called 'long cadence' (*cadenza lunga* or *accadenza*). For modern theorists, this pattern would be considered as cadential progression. However, its origin was associated with a different concept and role.

Figure 1 (b).



The essential approach using minimal tonal structure like cadences, a simple but fundamental contrapuntal pattern, is reflected in Giordano's opera in which he has used these patterns as *topoi* or as an integral contrapuntal heritage in his compositions.

Moreover, the *Corso* introduces another section with models of sequential progressions, in the same manner as the cadences: the bass motions section, called *Salti*. This section of the manuscript encompasses the realisation of different bass motions, following again the five contrapuntal species. As described in chapter 4, these patterns are the same as found in numerous Neapolitan notebooks and treaties. These contrapuntal exercises prove the antecedent influence present in the bass motions in ascending and descending order of intervals, proceeding again through steps, third (a), fourth (b), fifth (c) and sixth (d).

Figure 2 (a-b-c-d-e-f-g) reproduce some example of Giordano's exercise during 1883.

Figure 2. (a), ***Giordano, Corso di contrappunto, Salti.***



Figure 2 (b).



Figure 2 (c).



Figure 2 (d).



Figure 2 (e).

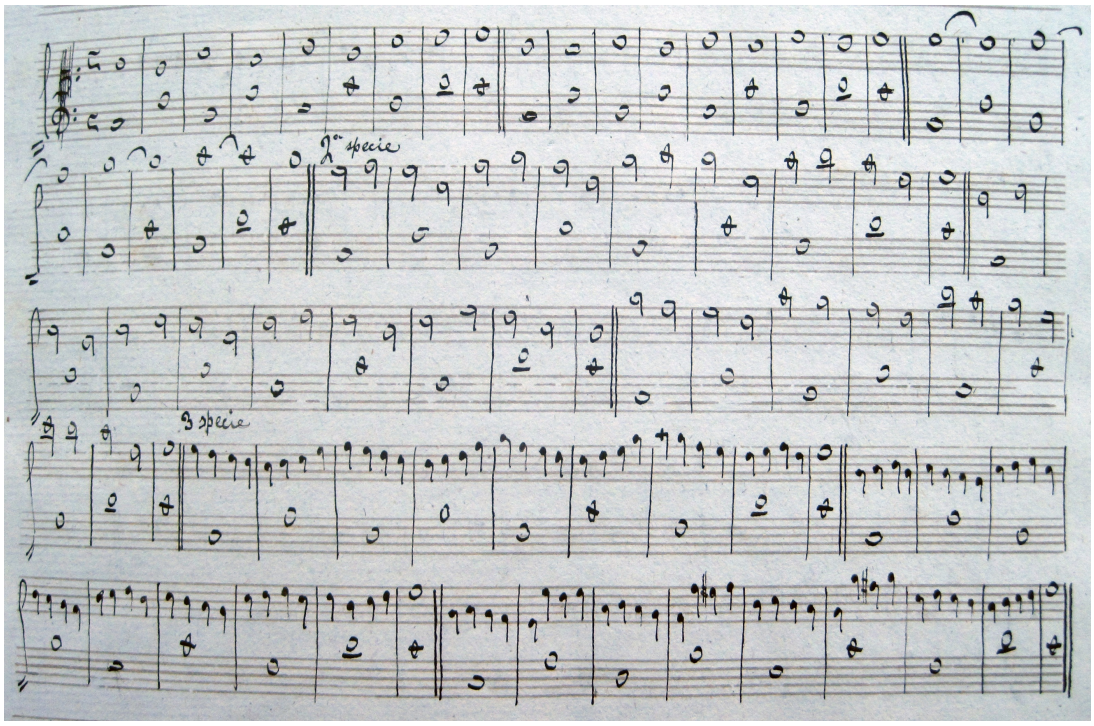


Figure 2 (f).

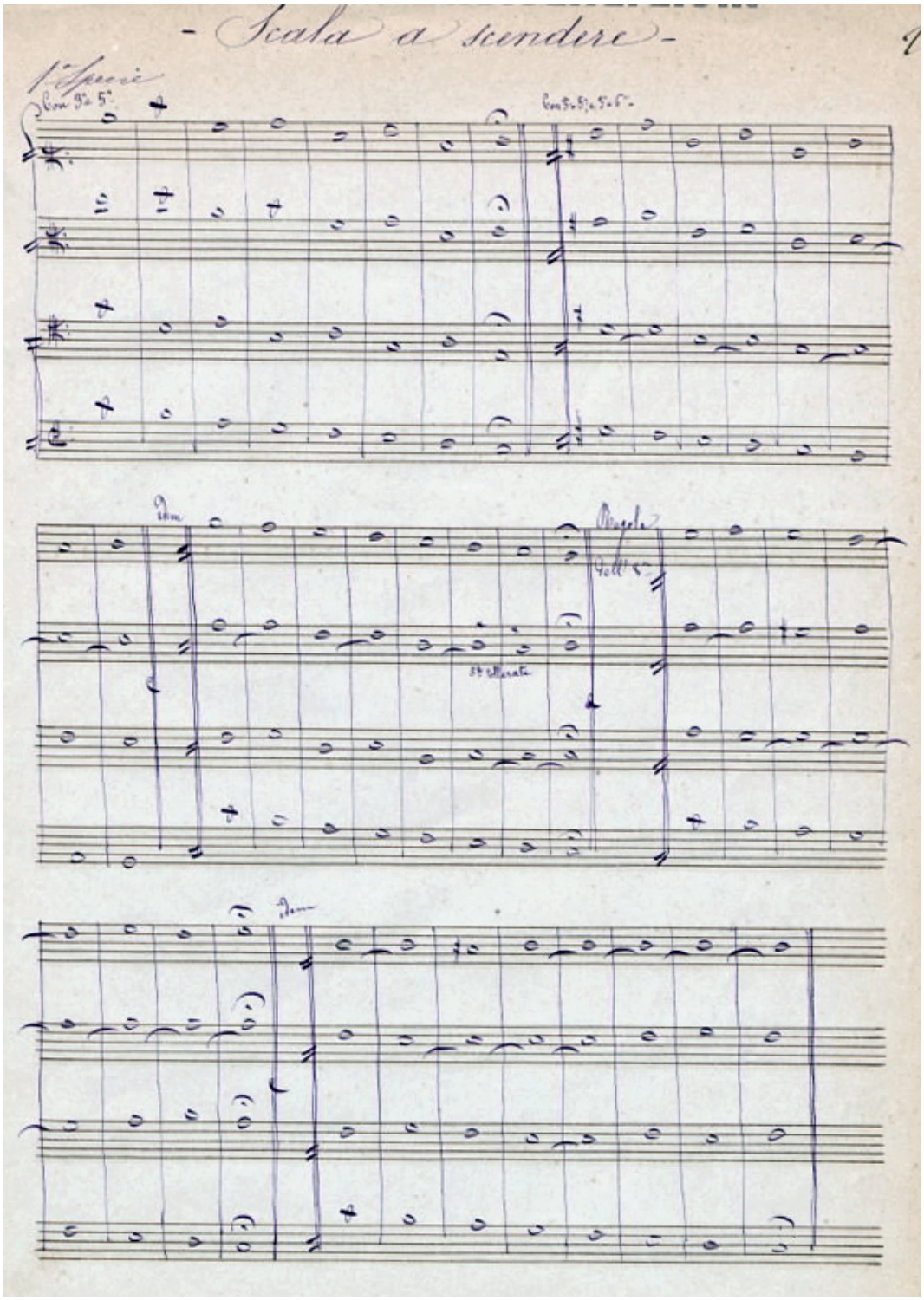


Figure 2 (g).



According to the conservative Italian compositional school, the notebooks dedicate a section to the study of scales as *cantus firmi* to work on elementary counterpoint structures. Using scales as basis for a series of diminutions, including the use of the RdO, was an integral part of the study of counterpoint. In doing so, Giordano was able to learn the basis of counterpoint voice leading and practice with an instrument of power tonal coherence such as the RdO. In this way, the student was made familiar with *partimenti* traditions alive at the time. The section *Scale discendenti* attests to the use of descending scales as the basis of a series of diminutions as well. It is not surprising that Giordano annotated such exercises with such comments as '*con la regola dell' ottava*' (using the RdO) as shown in figure 4.

Figure 3. Giordano, *Corso di contrappunt a quattro voci, Scale a scendere*, 1882-1883.



Alongside the predominance of the counterpoint, the study of cadences according to the Neapolitan pedagogic tradition, and the training based on the use of scales and bass motions, it is clear that imitation was still considered an essential part of Giordano's training.

As Sanguinetti argues:

> Imitation is the most important tool for transforming a continuous accompaniment into a self-standing composition. Through imitation, the diminutions become more coherent and engage in a thematic relationship with the bass. Besides, the study of imitation is an excellent preparation for fugue, the highest stage of partimento training. [290]

By observing the manuscript of Giordano's *partimenti* exercises, it is apparent in his practice that the 18th Century Neapolitan school influence is still very strong. In every '*imitazioni*' selected for analysis, techniques from much older generations were frequently employed, including imitations in sequence and *fauxbourdouns*, among more common canons, such as those thoroughly detailed by Sanguinetti. Probably the most frequently employed technique in Giordano's exercises, as observed in the example below, identifies how the composers utilise imitations as ornaments for passages in sequences.

In the *Imitazione alla terza*[291] below (bb 5-7 and 23–26), elements of the subject are utilized to form an imitation in sequence with a *basso che sende di terza e sale di quarta,* as shown in figure 4. In the *Imitazione alla seconda* below (bb 9–12) the same procedure is applied with a descending scale in the bass, embellished with elements from the subject (Figure 5).

[290] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 191
[291] Giordano, *Corso di contrappunto, Imitazioni*.

Figure 4. Giordano, *Imitazione alla terza,* bb.1-29.



Figure 5. Giordano, *Imitazione alla seconda*, from *Corso di Contrappunto a due,* bb. 1-36.



Giordano's practice of *fauxbourdons* in his *imitazioni* has impacted his compositional practice. This approach is frequently utilised in passages from his operas, which we have previously analysed.

Very frequent are also passages in 'free imitation'. These are re-expositions of the melodic and rhythmic profile of the initial fragment used as a basis for the exercise. Instead of following a strict interval imitation rule, they are freely transposed to accommodate the correct intervals in respect of the chords underneath. As Sanguinetti observes a change in surface rhythm could represent an imitation even if double counterpoint is not included in the voice leading. As we can see in these examples, these surface changes are taken by the composer as opportunities to re-state the initial fragment. In fact, Sanguinetti states[292]:

A beautiful way to accomplish this (rhythmic) continuity is through imitation of the rhythm and melodic profile of the opening fragment.

The notebook contains another section with the same contrapuntal movements of the previous *Corso* but in three voices. A more forensic examination reveals the same procedure, requiring the repetition of these patterns following the same approach used by Fenaroli or Sala as seen in the previous chapter. In other words, the process from two voices to three and then four inviting the student to apply diminution figures from simple whole-note models to more elaborated ones, as was the typical training of the conservative Italian pedagogy. This is evidence that it was still a very living and relevant *modus operandi*. In order to establish the prominence of this training at the end of the century, we examine one of the most enlightening pieces of evidence of this living tradition. It is a rare example of written *partimento* in two copies, elaborated by Giordano in 1883[293]. Figure 6 (a-b and my transcription c) shows a *partimento* as bass, designed to teach modulation with the support of the dominant seventh chords.

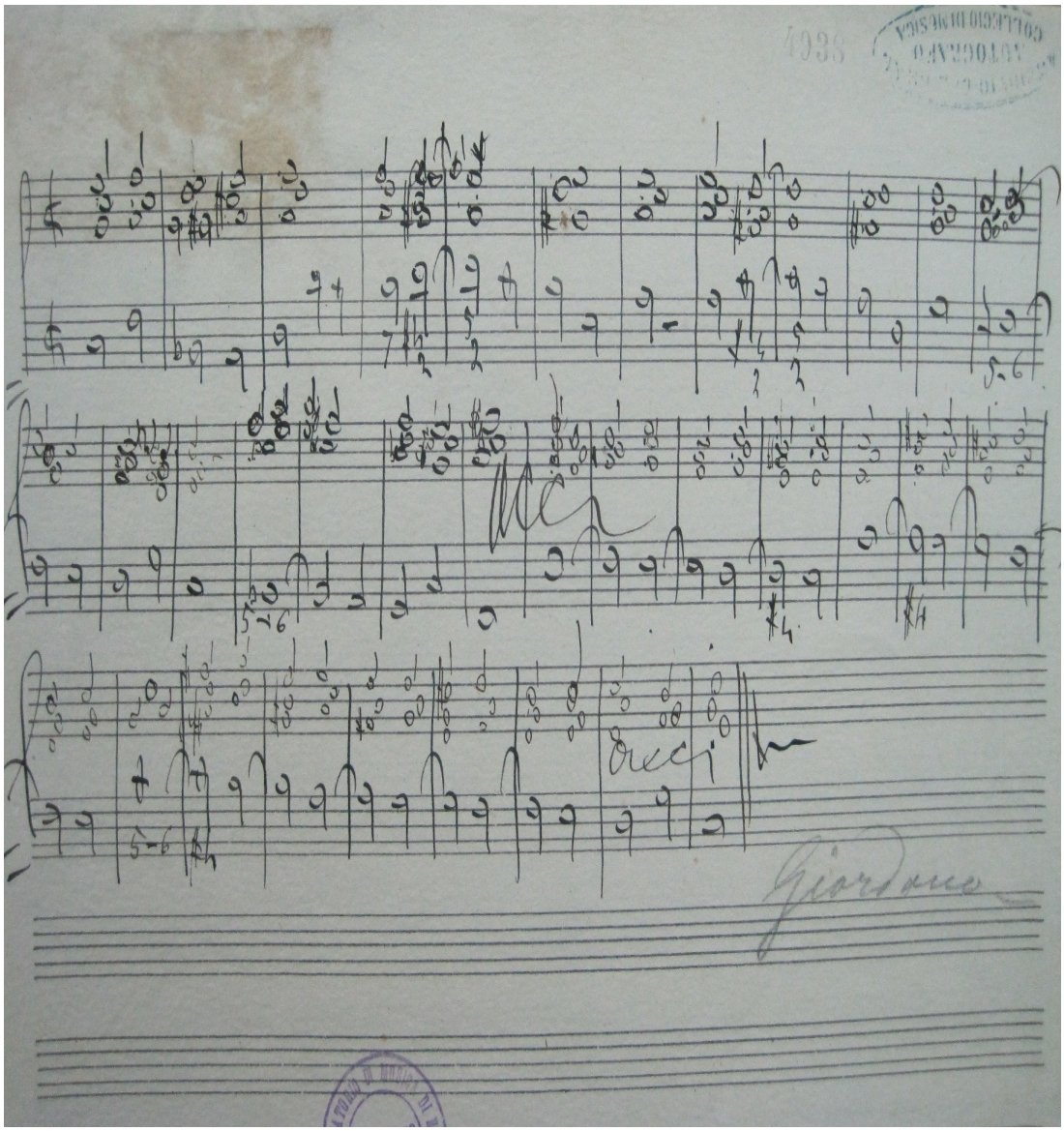
This chapter is followed by appendix II constituting a complete list of counterpoint notebook manuscripts by the young Umberto Giordano during his student years.

[292] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 202
[293] Umberto Giordano, *Partimenti*, I-Nc MS Rari 4.5.12 (13–14).

Figure 6 (a). Giordano, *Partimenti*, 1883.



Figure 6 (b).



To conclude this section, as mentioned in the previous chapter regarding Francesco Cilea and his musical and theoretical traditions, I included a section dedicated to Giordano's early fugues when he was a student. Despite the huge literature on the genre of the fugue, as seen in the previous chapter, the section shows how Giovane Scuola composers had a completely different musical background from other professional musicians who considered the French and the German influences as the only model to be considered regarding the pedagogical traditions and the study of the fugue.

Figure 6 (c).



5.2 Giordano as a composer

As evident in the previous two chapters, a vivid interconnectedness exists between students' training and the professional activity characteristic of their later operatic career.

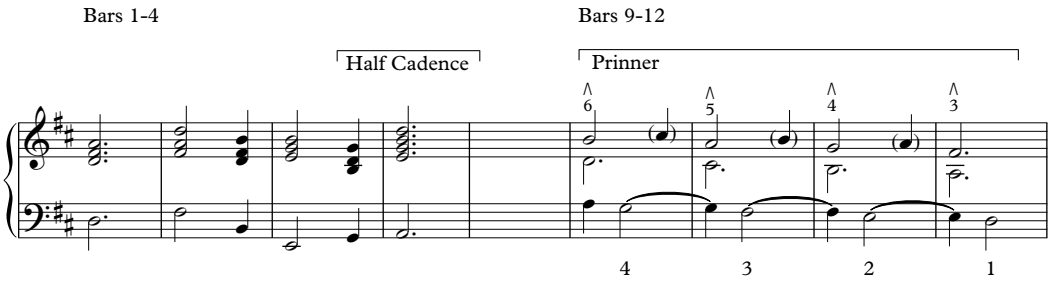
In contrast to the modern experimental musical research that during the first decades of the twenty century musicians were typically trying to undertake, Giordano often adhered to the old compositional practice techniques even in his latest opera. A brief example of a passage from Giordano's *La Cena delle beffe*, an opera in four acts with the Italian libretto by Sem Benelli, which premiered at La Scala on 20th December 1924, clearly provides us with an overview of these Italian traditions. In the aria *Sarà bene legarlo a un seggiolone* (Figure 7), at the beginning of the third act, it is possible to observe several chordal passages and cadences typical of the Napolitan *partimento* school.

The analytical reduction in figure 8 exhibits as evidence how the passage harmonises with parallel thirds, while the use of cadences as one of the elements of the thoroughbass tradition as well as *partimento* studies, characterise this aria. It is not surprising to use cadences in an aria, but it is the way they are used. As Giordano had learnt as a student, they can be integrated with other typical *partimento* schemes such as the already mentioned prinner, in bb 9-12, as demonstrated in the analytical reduction.

Figure 7. Giordano, *La cena delle beffe*, 1924, Aria *Sará bene*, bb.1-12.



Figure 8. ***La cena delle beffe*****, Aria** ***Sará bene*****, Analytical Reduction, bb.1-12.**



As explained in previous chapters, attempting to reinterpret these traditions in terms of progressive harmonic compositional practices could give rise to misguided evaluation of the last Italian opera season, given the prevalent practice and attitudes at the time. It should be noted at this point that these schemes, contrapuntal patterns and *partimenti* models were sometimes employed, as with Catalani and Cilea, as *topoi* linked to the dramaturgical context. They are examples of a revered prestigious musical tradition, which they learnt and harnessed as specific conservative and heritage-evoking context, such as for sacred works.

The second aim here is to strengthen our accumulating evidence with insights from extracts of Giordano's opera. These have usually been overlooked by modern opera researchers and are rarely ever analysed in terms of compositional practice. Thus, in the following section analysis of examples from Giordano's *Andrea Chénier, Marcella*, and *La Cena delle beffe* will lead to an assertion of the significant and fundamental presence of Giordano's pedagogic uses of Neapolitan compositional school. A number of characteristic *exampla* will also be discussed, which might aid in comprehending the possible rationale for the composer selecting these old-fashion traditions.

Before the analysis, it is necessary to recall an aspect seen in the previous chapters, the importance of sacred music: the renaissance of the late nineteenth-century *musica antica* impacting on all *Giovane Scuola* composers. The renewed interest in composers involved in the most significant liturgical and conservative compositional practice encouraged the diligent revival of repertoires relating to sacred works, Gregorian modes and ecclesiastic masterpieces from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was, nonetheless, according to a more nineteenth-century perspective.

As illustration, Pietro Platania strongly believed in the need to preserve the 'glorious' Italian music traditions of the past, celebrating authors such as Palestrina, Benedetto Marcello, Alessandro Scartlatti and sacred works of Pergolesi, Leo and Sala. He symbolises the strength of will among Italian teachers and students to rediscover the church music of history with a common evocative heritage not only of the Neapolitan compositional practice but also a flourishing tradition of his contemporary generations. Services in churches, chapels and other Italian ecclesiastical institutions were and had been a quintessential part of life – and music – for centuries.[294] Amid such revival was Gregorian music, the liturgical compositional schemes winning great support from the pontificate of Pope Pius X. On November 22nd 1903 (St. Cecilia's Day) he issued what is considered to be the manifesto of the Cecilian movement, the *Motu Proprio, 'Inter Sollicitudines'*[295] on sacred music. In this, he confirmed the centrality of the Gregorian chant as liturgical exemplar par excellence, to be promoted far and wide, along with the priority of the Roman vocal polyphony.

Despite this reclamation of heritage, not all composers of opera or instrumental music of the time chose solutions that reflected earlier traditions as Giordano, Faure and Poulenc had done. Many modernist composers, such as Stravinskji, decided to follow a different path, in the light of the musicals of the period. While this study is not specifically focussed on the historic sacred music or its nineteenth-century revival, nor the rediscovery of Gregorian modes, or the church music of late nineteenth-century composers such as Palestrina; it does nonetheless at this point need to recall attention to this aspect in order to understand the use of certain formulae and compositional schemes related to these which were handed down and used as *topoi* or musical colours inside some operatic passages. [296] It should be further noted, of course, that the use of compositional formulae related to Gregorian modes or other ecclesiastic patterns do not even accurately reflect contrapuntal patterns. They did not strictly follow the

[294] See chapter 1 and 2.

[295] The full text in Latin or Italian is available on the Vatican website http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/la/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html

[296] Examples of how musical topoi had a significant meaning in the music of the eighteenth century are analyzed in Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic. Hunt, Military and Pastoral*, Indiana University Press, 2006.

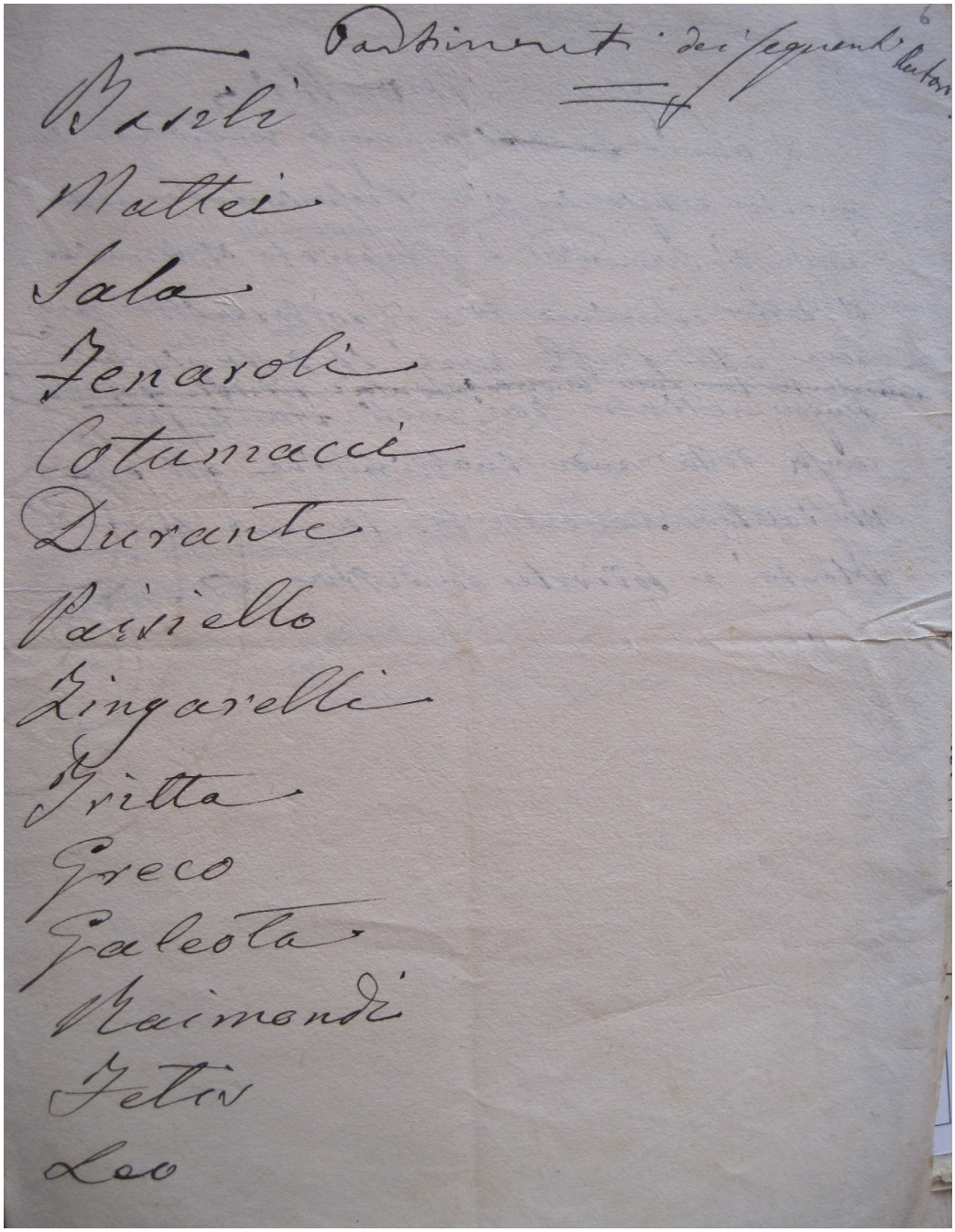
philological criteria to reproduce them in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Rather, these schemes were placed in a compositional context by composers of the nineteenth century, without any pretence of strict philology or faithful reproduction but as part of their musical language between the past and the contemporary traditions. As mentioned, the chief purpose of this chapter, in fact, is to highlight usage by Giordano, as we saw for Cilea and Catalani, for expressive purposes or as *topoi* within of their musical works. Their modernist and innovative choice was not to deny their traditions they were trained in, but to integrate them with modern solutions or have them assign specific meanings entrenched within their works.

The *maestri* of the *Real Collegio di Musica*, the Neapolitan Conservatoire during the 1880s and 1890s, were nevertheless strong advocates of earlier composers such as Pierluigi da Palestrina, Luca Merenzio, Claudio Monteverde, Alessandro Scarlatti and Antonio Lotti, and later composers of the great Neapolitan school, such as Durante, Porpora, Leo, Pergolesi, Jommelli, Paisiello and Cimarosa. Composers who perfectly knew both sacred and secular musical traditions.

The following representation (Figure 9)[297] is an extract from a document detailing the rules provided to all teachers and students of the Neapolitan Conservatory in 1888 and its guidelines testify to the legacy which was heavily recommended as an essential part of the training of Umberto Giordano. A suitable example amongst such musical recalls, found at the very beginning of the *Mensa Regalis*, probably composed by Giordano in 1946 but not printed until after his death four years later. In it, he brilliantly reignites and brings together the liturgical tradition with the typical conservative compositional practice and harmonies of his time. This *sequenza* – attributed to San Tommaso and among the most famous *Laude Eucaristiche* in the classic style and composed by Giordano as *Cantata per Soli e Coro a voci miste* – presents an alternate repetition of verses that gives the *sequenza* a responsorial form. The composers, although at the end of his life, did not neglect some *topoi* of liturgical music.

[297] Pietro Platania, *Lettere, Bozze e Appunti musicali, per programmi d'insegnamento*, I. Nc, Platania 58 (35).

Figure 9. Platania, *Appunti musicali per i programmi di insegnamento*, 1888.



As shown in figure 10 and the analytical reduction in figure 11, Giordano employs an *imitazione* and the use of a *falso bordone* paired with a bolder use of dissonances, which lack preparation, breaking the canonic traditional prescriptions. In the opening passage of this liturgical music, the melodic profile is created by means of an imitative repetition of scales, placed at subsequent descending thirds. As Baragwanath demonstrates,[298] it

[298] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*, p. 180.

is typical of the Italian opera of 1860 to utilise imitation at the beginning of a piece as a way of constructing melodies. This practice was also typical of counterpoint exercises of the time, as he emphasises the following:[299].

> The music launches with an intense plagal cadence, Giordano brilliantly brings together the liturgical tradition of his heritage with the harmonic practice of his time. The use of imitation and *falso bordone* is paired with a bolder use of dissonances, which lack preparation, breaking the canonic prescriptions.

In the opening passage of the *Mensa Regalis*, the melodic profile is made by imitative groups of scales, placed at subsequent descending thirds. This kind of pattern had become something of a trope in the Italian opera of this period, representing church music. It may be that organists were accustomed to filling in time during services with such descending scales, arranged in a simple sequence. An example of this, very similar to the theme of Giordano's Mensa Regalis, can be found in Puccini's Edgar (1889), just before the third scene of Act I, the Andante religioso 'Tu volutta di fuoco', at rehearsal number 15.

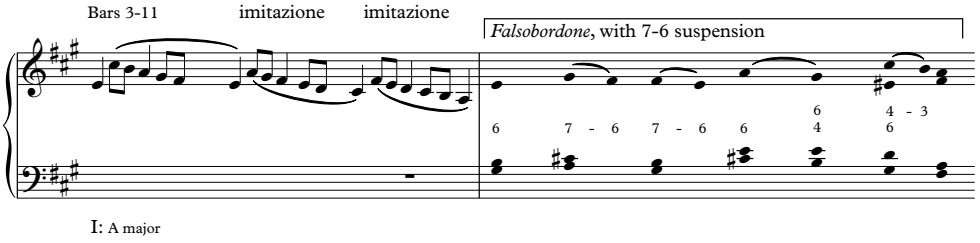
In bars 7-10, the chord succession evokes recognition of a *falso bordone*, with a sequence of 6-6 sixths. 7-6 suspensions are added to the chain of parallel sixths, which paradoxically makes them sound more modern. Both the parallel sixths and the 7-6 suspensions are archaic features, but they are not normally conjoined in this way. The 7-6 suspensions would usually feature only in descending stepwise sequences of sixths.

[299] *Ibidem*, p. 260.

Figure 10. Giordano, *Mensa Regalis*, 1948, bb 1-8.



Figure 11. Giordano, *Mensa Regalis*. Analytical reduction, bb. 3-11.



Examining this passage more forensically reveals that the 7-6 harmonies are not prepared as one might expect, and therefore will result in a harsher, more modern harmony, with the 7th chords more emancipated. Melodically, the sevenths are not reached by means of preparation and not even through step-motion. Between bars 7-9 the use of dissonance becomes climatic and culminates with the cadence in bar 9, where instead of a 7th it is the 4th of the chord (a C#) that is subject to the same procedure, creating a clash of major seventh with the fifth of the chord (a D) in one of the lower

voices and on the downbeat of the chord. In other words, what would be considered a dissonance, according to the reference model, is presented by Giordano as unprepared.

Modern harmonic solutions incorporated in elementary ecclesiastic formulae, such as the basic cadence used in many liturgical compositions and contrapuntal patterns, which recall a past compositional tradition, testify to a practical response. These progressive approaches clearly sustain the essential teachings of old masters as a homage to the works which represent centuries of musical pedagogic traditions

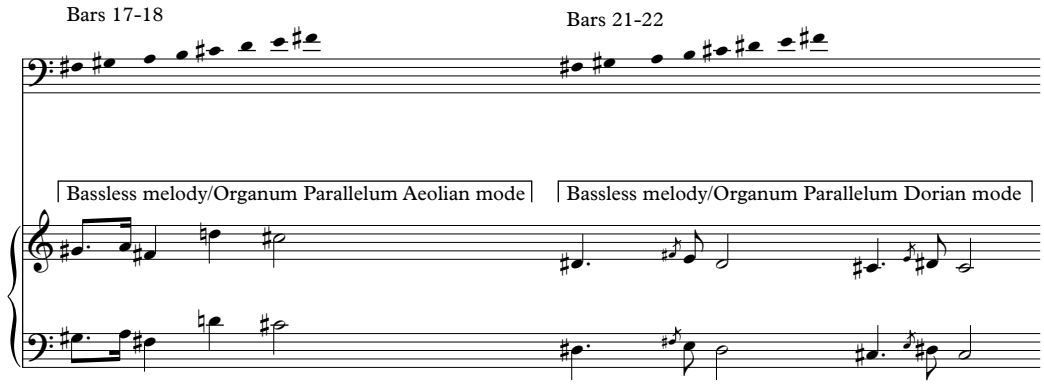
Giordano's most popular and probably most frequently performed opera is *Andrea Chénier*. This opera is in four acts and set to *libretto* by Luigi Illica, and it premiered on 28th March 1896 at La Scala in Milan. Based on the life of French poet Andréa Chénier (1762–1794) who was killed during the French Revolution, the action take place at the *Palace of the Countess of Coigny* in 1789, where the servants of the aristocratic Coigny family are preparing a ball. The Countess is holding a ball for church and state dignitaries. A servant, Carlo Gérard, helps other men move heavy furniture, but the efforts of his aging father triggers his anger, complaint and sadness. The aria *Son sessant'anni, o vecchio*! (Old man, you have been in service for sixty years!), is sung by Gerard to decry his condition. Giordano ironically juxtaposes the meagre status of Gerard lamenting his condition against a grand old-fashioned world of conservative ecclesiastic and aristocratic traditions, in this aria. Thereby, the aim of highlighting and integrating the early masters' approaches as *topoi* in the compositional practice of *musica antica*, also becomes a communicative element of the dramaturgical context for Umberto Giordano.

From this example (Figure 12) and the next (Figure 13) there emerges a will to contextualise the recall of the modes of sacred, ancient or conservative music. During the late nineteenth century, reproducing these patterns was barely an element of faithful study of, or respect, for the past. Yet the modal recall remained a foundation for sacred music, suggesting an association with the past. Thus, we get cases like the one mentioned in the example above, whereby a poignant juxtaposition is established between the conservative social context such as the ecclesiastic or aristocratic and the modern dramaturgical context created by the composer.

Figure 12. Giordano, *Andrea Chénier*, Aria *Son sessant'anni*, act 1, (1896), bb 16-24.



Figure 13. Andrea Chénier, Aria *Son sessant'anni*, Analytical reduction, bb 17-18 and 21-22.



Clearly, Umberto Giordano did not prioritise progressive harmonic patterns such as the Wagnerian voice leading used in *Tristan and Isolde*. Giordano was ostensibly uninterested in the progressive influence of modern music such as the well-known works of Richard Wagner. The modern style for Giordano, Cilea and Catalani remained aligned with traditional Italian compositional practice. The past may be recalled within the musical compositional practice of the period, so his roots are never denied.

Furthermore, Giordano did not ignore the associative meaning of the modes[300] as dramaturgical connections evoking a specific *ethos*. Musicians like Palestrina, one of the most influential composers in the study of *musica antica* in the late century[301], were known to exploit the power of traditional music in affecting a particular sentiment within a relevant genre. Similarly, composers and theatrical directors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered *Ionic, Lidio, Misolidio* modes like *laetiores* to associate happy feelings, while *Doric, Phrygian* and *Aeolic* modes were used for *languidiores*, that is to say more languid and pitiful sentiments.[302]

[300] I should recall that at the beginning of the sixteenth century the modes were referred as Doric, the Phrygian, the Lydian and Mixolydian where Glareanus had added the Ionian and Aeolian. The position of tones and semitones is typical for each scale and two notes emerge as important and as a fulcrum around which it was possible to distinguish in Authentic modes and Plagal modes, the *repercussio* and the *finalis*. For more details see Bernhard Meier, *I modi della polifonia vocale classica descritti secondo le fonti*, Lucca, LIM 015.

[301] R. Collegio di musica di Napoli, *Statuto e ruolo normale approvato con R.Decreto del dí 11 Novembre 1888 N.5819 (Serie 3a)*, Napoli, Società in accomandita A. Bellisario e C, 1888.

[302] Meyer, *I modi della polifonia vocale classica descritti secondo le fonti*, pp. 406–407.

In this particular aria, Giordano employs alternate modal scales in *Aeolian* and *Dorian* modes. It opens with an *Aeolian* mode grounded on F#. Although the equivalent of a minor natural scale unaltered when ascending from the 5th to 8th grade in bars 17-20, (C#-D-E-F#). According, for instance, to bars 19-20 the melodic profile suggests this is *Aeolian* rather than just minor natural where the melody insists to a natural E – not E# that ascends towards F#. Giordano then shifts to the *Dorian* mode altering the natural D to a D# in bars 21-24 and producing the characteristic *Dorian* major 6th within a minor scale, between F# (1st scale degree) and D# (6th scale degree). He then reverts to *Aeolian* from bar 25 onwards. The use of modal scales is also combined with a bass-less arrangement of the melody.

This recalls the technique of the *Organum Parallelum* as previously mentioned. In other words, the composer draws out a contrast between the conservative individuals Gerard is serving and the mournful lament of his own life. It is a remarkable parallel between old musical patterns and compositional mastery of the aria. Interestingly, this technique is also employed by Puccini in *Manon Lescaut*, as highlighted by Bargawnanath.[303] In the aria, *In quelle trine morbide*, pulsing chords double the melody (a *solfeggio* pattern) with a descending bass, which draws chords in first position, recalling the sound of a singing exercise. This is presumably to '*conjure up a suitable evocative image of the cosseted and bourgeois world in which Manon, having abandoned love for money, has now found herself*'.[304] Even though the technique here is quite specific, this parallel shows how elements outside of the strict rule of an opera's time and style contribute to the crafting of dramaturgical meaning when relating to the story and the characters.

Returning to the narrative, the guests arrive but the poet Andrea Chénier is given consent to improvise on his feelings of patriotic love against the indifference of the church and nobility. The Countess's daughter, Maddalena, is touched by his singing, and her mother invites the guests to dance. However, Gerard opens windows to allow other starving peasants to enter the castle. When the woman orders their expulsion, the

[303] Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*, p. 278.
[304] *Ibidem*.

servant casts off his livery and departs stridently with his father, disregarding the Countess's commands to maintain the dance.

In the second act, Chénier becomes a Revolutionary who is attracted to Maddalena and intends to defend her from Gerard who has now become a revolutionary. Gerard catches the two lovers and starts a fight with Chénier, only to get hurt. He magnanimously counsels Chénier to bring Maddalena with him and leave. Later on, Gerard presides over a tribunal in the name of the Revolution. Chénier is arrested and Maddalena offers her life in exchange for his love. She tells the story of his sufferings, the fire in the family home, the loneliness of his mother and her death in trying to protect her daughter, the sacrifice of Maddalena's servant who 'trades her beauty' as a prostitute to save Maddalena's life, and the love of the poet which gave her back the will to live. The aria for this, *La Mamma Morta*, is one of the most touching and beautiful among the soprano repertoire of the late nineteenth century.

This aria is a brilliant exemplar of the use of sacred liturgical patterns, with recalls of the modality as musical *topoi*, in the Italian nineteenth century opera (Figures 14a and 14b). The aria is solidly grounded on the *Phrygian* mode, with the typical minor second between the 1st and 2nd degrees of the scale appearing in the main body of the aria. The mode appears twice very clearly: in bars 13-14 based on an A minor triad (which produces the typical minor 2nd interval with the Bb on the 2nd degree, and 27-28 with the same chord pattern transposed on the basis of an F# minor triad (G natural producing the typical *Phrygian* 2nd). The *Phrygian* mode, defined as IV plagal mode according t. (Figure 16).

Figure 14 (a). *Andrea Chénier*, Aria *La mamma morta*, act 3, bb 8-14.



Figure 14 (b). *Andrea Chénier*, Aria *La mamma morta*, act 3, bb 27-29.

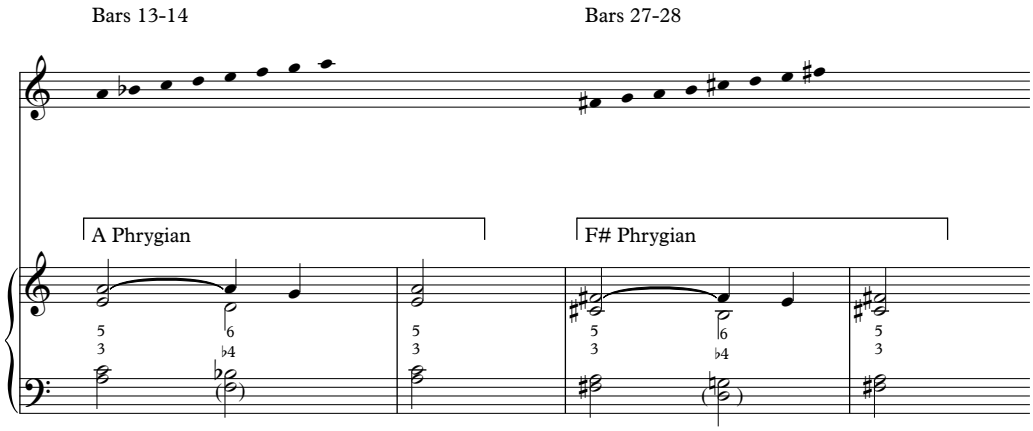


Figure 15. Aria *La mamma morta,* Analytical reduction, bb 13-14 and 27-28.



It is noteworthy that the *Phrygian* interval is here associated with archaic church practices. Its unusual sound evokes a sense of medieval plainchant. Because of the destruction of the Catholic Church and its confraternities by Napoleon, the *Phrygian* second was actually 'corrected' with an accidental in most Italian churches. *Tritto, Regole di canto fermo* (1759, 12r) and Lazaro Venanzio Belli (1788) both confirm that the mode on E always had its F sharpened to F sharp, to avoid the triton arising from the clash with B. In other words, the *Phrygian* mode did not sound so in eighteenth-century Italian churches; it sounded like E minor. Whether a more literal performance practice arose in the early 19th century, without the application of accidentals in performance, is doubtful. It is likely that churches continued to perform plainchant with accidentals. Giordano here presumably intended to evoke the sound of the world of archaic churches, romanticized.

Put simply, the *Phrygian* mode recalls a melancholic atmosphere together with the recall to the plagal mode,[305] which very often evokes feelings of humility, prayer and efforts. All these affections are produced by Maddalena's singing this splendid aria.[306]

Returning to the narrative again, Gerard is seen to relent, but Chénier is nevertheless condemned for execution. The last act is set in Saint Lazare prison, where Chénier is writing his final and touching verses, one of the most beautiful among Chénier's musical moments, *Come un bel dí di Maggio*, (*As Some Soft Day in May*). He is unaware that Maddalena will choose to follow him till death as a love sacrifice together with him. The use of parallel motion chords in a modal context is not an exclusive characteristic of Chenier. The example I have just analysed shows in fact a similarity to a very famous aria by Puccini, *Vissi D'Arte Vissi d'Amore*, in the second act of Tosca (Figure 16). As in Chenier's aria, the first and iconic few chords are all harmonized with 6 and in parallel motion. (Figure 17). In Chenier, we could mention the idea of a modal prinner, while in Puccini we could speak about a *pentatonic falsobordone*. Melodically, the top line draws a descending minor pentatonic scale (see bars 3-6). At the same time, these chords are all harmonised with 3/6, which indeed defines the bass line as a *falsobordone*. The correlation of pre-classical techniques and either modern or 'exotic' features seem to be the recurring feature of Italian Opera of the late 19th Century.

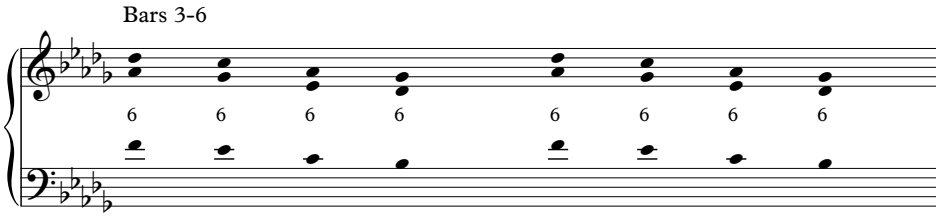
[305] Meyer, p. 413.

[306] Due to the cinematic style of Giovane Scuola composers and the touching melodies such as this aria, Giordano's *la mamma morta* was chosen to describe similar context and dramatic intentions in movies such as Philadelphia, directed but Johathan Demme in 1992. The musical style and poetry of this aria is included perfectly in the emotional scene with Tom Hanks and the voice of Maria Callas transmits the intention of Giordano's style splendidly.

Figure 16. G. Puccini, *Tosca*, Aria *Vissi d'arte* act 2, bb 1-6.[307]



Figure 17. Tosca, Aria *Vissi d'arte*, Analytical reduction, bb 2-5.



Chénier's poem *Comme un dernier rayon* is paraphrased brilliantly in this final aria *Come un bel dì di Maggio*, as shown in Figure 18. The poet denounces the appalling murders of "the Terror", when within a 46-day period 1,285 people were condemned to the guillotine.

Like the last ray, like the final breeze which Animates the end of a beautiful day, At the foot of the scaffold, I take up my lyre. Perhaps it soon will be my turn.

Just before the aria begins, the orchestra plays a musical melody reminding us of the character of the *Organum Parallelum*. Recalling of this technique appears on top of a bass pedal on F#. The mode here is *hypophrgian* mode IV with a final on F#-C#-D-E-F#-G#A-B-C#. The progression is rather like a modal dominant prinner, with the bass traversing degrees 8765 of the modal scale, F#E-D-C#. The arrival on the fourth parallel triad, on C sharp, marks a surprise return to diatonic harmony. Its third, E, is sharpened to E sharp, which establishes it as a 'key'. This is confirmed by the ensuing cadence: a

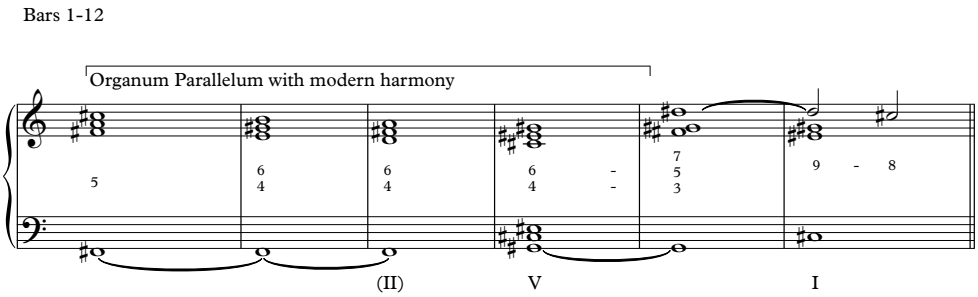
[307] Giacomo Puccini. *Tosca.* Ricordi, Milano, 1902

fairly typical II-V-I cadence with a cadential 6/4 and a 9-8 suspension applied to the final tonic chord. This is a feature found in much Italian opera of the period (Figure 19).

Figure 18. ***Andrea Chénier*****, Aria** ***Come un bel dí di maggio*****, act 4, bb 1-13.**



Figure 19. *Andrea Chénier*, Aria *Come un bel dí di maggio*, Analytical reduction, bb 1-12.



Once again, this *colour*, a sort of characteristic musical topos recalling historic liturgical music works, is associated with the approaching death of Chénier – his final moments. Giordano seems to suggest a musical notion by means of sacred patterns and a sense of lament – a touching moment where the poet is bidding farewell to life. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of how Giordano employed the Neapolitan teaching of composition, as quotes, *topoi* or legacy of his esteemed compositional practice, I would like to highlight more examples regarding his early compositions.

We have seen that the training in *partimento* and Neapolitan counterpoint was part of the elementary class. There is no doubt that the *partimento* patterns were still considered to be the most important prerequisite skill for young students and their older *maestri*. It is intriguing to see how schemes as *romanesca* or the *Do-Re-Mi* galant scheme were devised in order to recall such pedagogical traditions. During apprenticeships, the practice of composing music for keyboards was still prevalent for all composers of the Giovane Scuola. As we have seen for Catalani and Cilea, Giordano also composed piano music, such as the two piano pieces, *Minuet in B flat major*, dedicated to his friend Fausto Mattei, and a *Gavotte in A major*, dedicated to another friend Elviro Raimondi. The practice of paying homage to friends and patrons was not neglected by composers of the old school of Naples; both pieces were published by publisher Raffaele Izzo of Naples.[308]

[308] Agostino Ruscillo, *Umberto Giordano: l' adolescenza a Foggia e gli anni di studio al Conservatorio di Napoli (1867–1890),* in *Musica. Storia, analisi e didattica*, I/2013, edited by

Likely composed between 1886 and 1887, the *Minuet* is a clear reference to the ever-living traditions of the eighteenth-century. It still has the typical structure in three sections, while *La Gavotte* is also set with a typical tripartite scheme. In the bars 1-2, (Figure 20) at the very beginning of *La Gavotte*, the connection between the *partimento* traditions and the recall to a typical scheme of the old gallant style is very clear. The first two measures show the above-mentioned characteristic gallant scheme *Do-Re-Mi*, which launches a full ascending scale in the right hand while the left-hand progresses with a step-motion figure, harmonized according to the RdO. As Gjerdigen argues, *Do-Re-Mi*, like the *Romanesca*, was one of the favourite opening gambits in the eighteenth century (Figure 21). It was employed by composers such as Domenico Cimarosa, Zigarelli and Rossini.

Figure 20. Giordano, *La Gavotta*, bb.1-5.

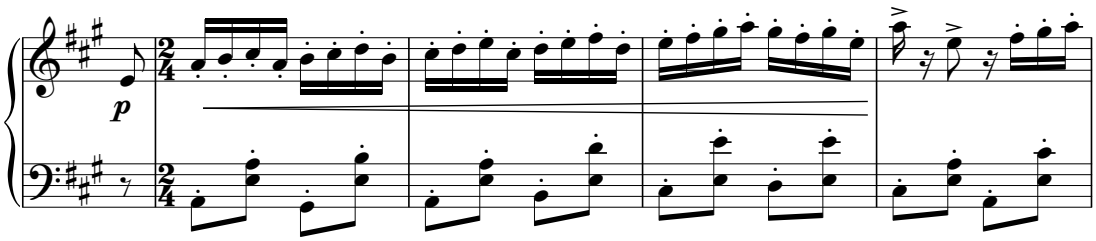
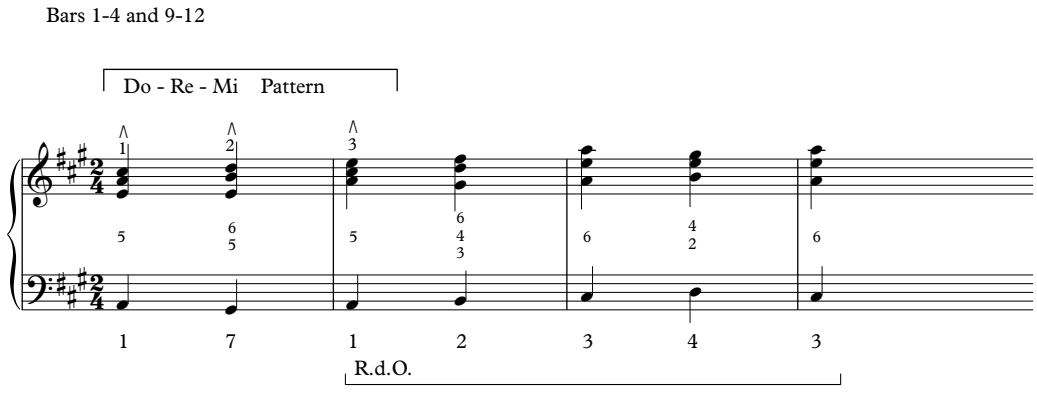


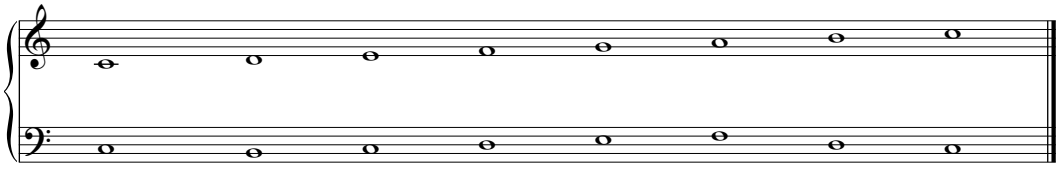
Figure 21. *La Gavotta*, Analytical Reduction, bb. 1-4.



Francesco Di Lernia and Agostino Ruscillo, Foggia, Quaderni del Conservatorio Umberto Giordano di Foggia, Grenzi Editore, pp. 15–46.

Interestingly, the beginning of *La Gavotta* also resembles, very closely, a pattern of the *Contrapunti sopra la scala* by Saverio Mattei, a practice that Giordano is likely to have encountered during his studies. As mentioned there was interest in him by Platania and other masters in late eighteenth-century Naples. Indeed, Mattei and his methods were still considered an essential source for young students during their training. The so-called archaic methods in training such as this remained firmly part of Italian pedagogical traditions. Mattei's teaching is reproduced in figure 22.

Figure 22. Mattei, *Contrappunti sopra la scala.*



This music was assimilated by Giordano when he was a student and during the early years of his career, so, it should not be surprising to encounter these *topoi* during his early professional activity. However, it would certainly be noteworthy to see another *partimento* scheme such as *Romanesca* in later compositions.

Giordano's *Marcella* was premiered at the Teatro Lirico in Milan in 1907 with the famous singers Gemma Bellincioni and Fenando de Lucia. The opera had great success and singers like Magda Olivero and Tito Schipa performed with great acclaim. Sadly, the spectacle diminished and disappeared from theatres after the war, possibly also because of wartime bomb damage to the Sonzogno Publishing House, which had preserved both full scores. Only as late as 2007 were Giordano's manuscripts recovered and the centenaries of this opera able to be performed.

The opera is in one act and three episodes, with libretto by Henri Cain and Edouard Adenis. A pure but desperate girl, Marcella, is forced through hunger into prostitution. She is befriended by a young painter, who unbeknown to her is the heir to a throne. The two fell in love. The prince is recalled to his duties by events in his kingdom and abandons her. There is nothing realistic about the rather over-contrived plotline. It is only at the end of the second scene that Marcella realises her lover Giorgio is in fact a prince; we are expected to believe that the pair have had blissful country idyll lasting

months.

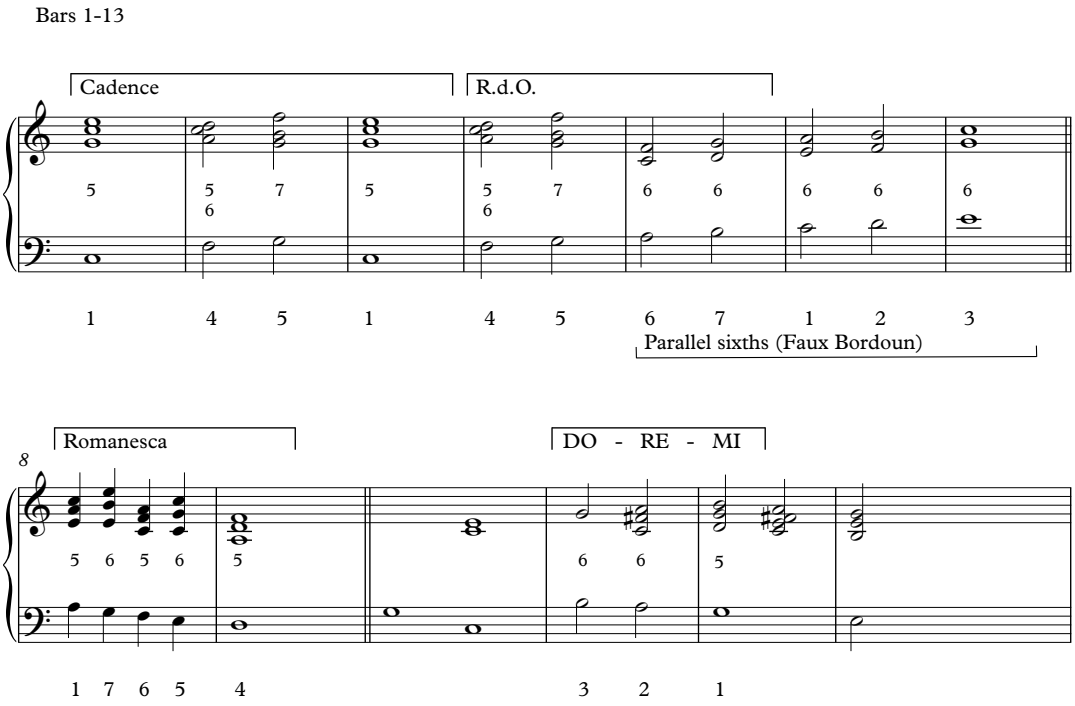
One more example shown here demonstrates our said revered tradition as a legacy that endures to the beginning of the twentieth century. It returns as a *partimento* scheme used as leitmotiv in Marcella's prelude at the beginning of the third episode. The touching prelude (Figure 23) put in evidence the relationship of Giordano's studies, such as how to employ cadences conceived as the first and elementary of all tonal structures[309], followed by a segment of the RdO, integrated with a typical recall to *musica antica*, such as the already mentioned *faux bourdon*. Once again, Giordano takes advantages of Neapolitan schemes such as *Romanesca* (bb.8 and 9) and a masterfully shaped prinner (bb.11.13) as presented in the analytical reduction shown in figure 24.

Figure 23. Giordano, *Marcella*, (1907), *Preludio* act 3, bb1-1-14.



[309] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p.105

Figure 24, *Marcella*, *Preludio* act 3, Analytical reduction, bb1-13.



To conclude this chapter, I would like to observe a final example in which the use of partimento cell such a Romanesca pattern, could create a specific leitmotiv of a whole duet. The new insights of this chapter which address how the past pedagogic tradition continued to prevail in Giordano's professional activity, show us how the old-fashioned compositional schemes, sometimes adapted to an evolving harmonic language and, therefore, transformed into variants, could rappresent a structural function and artistic pattern within Giovane Scuola's music.

Andrea Chénier, like most of successful Italian opera of his period, is driven by melodies as a vehicle for characterization and capturing an artistic meaning of the musical context. The melody, as observed in the previous examples, moves the drama and captures the audience's attention. Using traditional melodic cell to build an extended duet as in the finale of Chènier, could model and organize a motivic source for an opera finale, as well as for other operatic passages.

The entire connection between the pedagogic traditions and the professional use as mature composer represented a common denominator of the musical (and popular) culture of Giordano's time.

Giordano's masters still promoted a highly Neapolitan school approach to the teaching of tonal harmony at the end of the nineteenth century and this tradition was employed by Giordano even to create a long duet basically created on a Romanesca repetition.
As demonstrated in figure 25 and in my analytical example (figure 26) of the famous final duet 'Vicino a te s'acqueta l'irrequieta anima mia', the Romanesca, reveals once again the e*choes* of the composer's training in his musical vocabulary and repertoire, employed in a specific operatic passage which is undoubtedly significant for Giordano's compositional process. These archetypal musical structures in Giordano's musical Zibaldone testifies the importance of the Neapolitan traditions in his tonal language and dramaturgical context.

Figure 25, Andrea Chénier, act 3, Final duet "Vicino a te", bb. 31-39.



Figure 26. Andrea Chénier, act 3, Final duet "Vicino a te", Analytical Reduction, bb 31-39.



All these examples in this chapter highlight that the underlying ideology of the curriculum remained heavily influenced by an Italian conservative tradition, which was deliberately taught, chosen and practiced by Giordano and his musical mentors. Having to learn them must have seemed old fashion for a young student of that period.
Being part of the tonal language of the nineteenth century opera season, was a specific choice. Surely not the only one but understanding these pedagogic traditions may help us to explain why Giordano based passages from *Chénier*, *Marcella* or latest opera such as *La Cena delle beffe* upon repetitions of basic Neapolitan cadenzas, partimento's patterns, thoroughbass voice leading or even ecclesiastic style recalls.

The epoch of transaction between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth century is very rich in terms of musical language experiments. Big changes were happening if we think of harmonic language of a Debussy of the mentioned progressive influences of Richard Wagner, Strauss, Mahler. Very soon Arnold Schöenber and Igor Strawinsky were going to start their musical ideas about the Twentieth century music. Obviously, Giovane Scuola composers did not close themselves in a room, ignoring all the musical changes, influences and what role the big revolution of musical language was having and the partimento patterns were familiar to other Italian and European musical genre and composers of the period.

However, the case study of Giovane Scuola composers, of their training and the rare documents analysed and the specific in terms of meaningful and recognizable patterns in their operatic language and style shed light on a growing interest in musical schemata also for operatic analytical researches and for the music theory of the late nineteenth

century and for Cilea, Giordano and Catalani's artistic vision within their historic and cultural context in which they worked.

CONCLUSION

In his work, *The Art of Partimento*, Sanguinetti observes:

Modern musicians often wonder at the astonishing pace of great composers such as Gaetano Donizetti (who wrote his masterpiece, Lucia di Lammermoor, in just five weeks) and regard this as token of genius. Certainly, Donizetti was a genius […]. Every professionally trained Italian composer was able to compose an opera in five weeks or less if necessary. This was the result of training, and not of genius.[310]

Although the musicological studies have never investigated the link between opera and the Neapolitan pedagogical traditions by the end of the nineteenth century this training still persevered, as I have demonstrated in my dissertation. It had most certainly not been lost in time, even with the differences regarding the compositional praxis and the music theory between the previous century and the last decades of the XIX century. My specific case studies on Giovane Scuola composers show that the compositional skills provided by the eighteenth century Neapolitan training did not die out, but rather the new generation of composers adapted them to provide the basis for their expressive needs.

The role of Giacomo Puccini's landmark position in the terrain of older compositional practice has been detailed by Nicholas Baragwanath.[311] Puccini was the most famous composer of the *Giovane Scuola* generations. This work inspired me to examine more closely related questions surrounding other names in his generation, questions which have never been answered or even investigated. These included whether the centuries-old Italian compositional practices were still alive and expressed in the last three most celebrated Italian opera composers, Francesco Cilea, Umberto Giordano and Alfredo Catalani who, after the introduction on Verdi and his legacy on chapter 2, are the main object of my research. Even if we knew the link between Puccini and the compositional practice related to his masterworks, opera studies still did not consider a whole generation of Italian operatic composers at the end of the nineteenth century in the light

[310] Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento*, p. 6
[311] Baragwanath, *The Italian Tradition & Puccini*, 2012.

of rare documents regarding their training, which strongly influenced their musical and artistic craft. This is the first study, in any language, which considers the importance of these traditions and has shed light on compositional practice of Puccini's composers' generation.

Assumptions about the great Neapolitan compositional skills and training in pedagogical methodologies emerged in the *ipse dixit* of Verdi which aroused my interest in understanding the full amount of that heritage, as demonstrated in the second chapter. In doing so, I draw the attention to a group of generally overlooked composers such as those invocatively called by Johannes Streicher *ultimi splendori*, or 'latest glories' of the Italian operatic traditions.

In my research I did a comparative analysis using previously unstudied sketches, notebooks, early studies, *partimento* repertoires, along with a thorough examination of operas like *Adriana Lécouvreur*, *Andrea Chénier* and *Marcella*, or even sacred works like Catalani's *Messa* of 1872, unpublished and never studied before. My archival research allowed me to find documents that nobody has described and analysed before. The analysis of these documents helped to shed lights on the musical craft and theory, on pedagogic traditions and compositional practices of the period, specifically concerning Cilea, Catalani and Giordano.

Historical documents such as complete notebooks, sketches, *partimenti* and fugues of Cilea, Catalani and Giordano and the impact of the related pedagogic traditions on their musical activity, represent the evidences of why and how the old-fashion compositional practice, which included the study of sacred works of the past and their compositional patterns together with the heavy influence of *partimento* tradition, were still essential in the end of the late nineteenth century. My investigations made it clear that the Neapolitan school was not completely overshadowed by other foreign theoretical influences, as implied in the short musicological literature dedicated to these composers. This is because any other pedagogical alternatives to learn the musical tonal language at the end of the century were still inadequate to replace the Neapolitan school as a passport to guarantee the chance of becoming a professional operatic composer in Italy, as testified by documents related to Giovane Scuola composers's teachers such as Platania and Serrao's letters and documents preserved in the Neapolitan Conservatoire

or the sources related to Catalani's education described in this thesis. Musical recalls, schemata, compositional models or *topoi* that influenced the compositional craft of past composers were still employed by the younger composers along with other compositional techniques, in a fascinating dialogue with the past.

The initial part of this work provides both historical context and analysis of Alfredo Catalani's works and his professional activity and output. The investigation of rare and unpublished primary sources such as Catalani's *Corso di contrappunto,* discovered during my archival research that Michele Puccini's *Corso di contrappunto* as well as analysis of his early compositions including the previously un-studied *Messa* (1872), have filled a number of gaps regarding Catalani's musical language and the heritage of partimento traditions, forgotten or neglected by modern musicological literature in our understanding of both Catalani himself and the artistic landscape of the late nineteenth century.

Additionally, my work on manuscript sources, such as the *Corsi di contrappunto*, *Partimenti*, *Imitazioni* and fugues related to the late-nineteenth century period of study in the Naples Conservatory, have provided a specific answer to the question over the endurance of the *partimento* tradition, namely whether it had been effectively eclipsed by new theories and methods that were starting to displace secular and conservative schools of composition. This contribution helps us understand if and how the secular *partimento* tradition died or managed someway to survive the eclipse of Neapolitan conservatories ad the end of the nineteenth century. This study has clearly demonstrated that Cilea, Giordano and Catalani were closely linked to older Italian traditions.

These contributions from the past have been exploited in the subsequent two chapters. An analysis with examples and reductions taken from the opera of Umberto Giordano and Francesco Cilea, and sacred works like *Litanie* and *Mensa Regalis*, has not only elucidated the background and influences upon these talented individuals but has also filled obscure technical about the last generation of Italian opera composers in which no investigations has been done before. This work is also the first to have used some analytical observations on Giovane Scuola's sacred works such as *Mensa Regalis* by Giordano or Catalani's *Mass.*

As mentioned above, the findings of this study should have significant implications for researchers dedicated to nineteenth-century compositional theory and practice in Italy and also general music theory including opera analysis. Since the role of *partimento* and Neapolitan pedagogic traditions have been demonstrated here as having played such a central role in all the nineteenth century Italian opera, it can reasonably be inferred that it might be beneficial in extending the same opera analysis of *partimento* traditions to the entire nineteenth century right up until the sun set on its duration in the early years of the twentieth century. At this point its decline marked the gradual closure of at least two centuries of practice, and one of the most important contributions to opera by Italians.

Moreover, the research methodology employed in this work, seeking and parallelising documentary evidence to reconstruct original and fundamental methods, formulae, and learnt skills taught to composers hitherto poorly considered in musicological research, has been a rewarding and insightful academic approach. It has raised awareness and promoted the worth and significance of these time-honoured composition techniques by means of Giordano, Cilea, Catalani as case studies. It may, therefore, serve as a springboard for further scholarship as a recommended set of approaches in opera analysis. The role of *partimento*, as well as *solfeggio*, may deserve a renewed and refreshed central position in the study of the late nineteenth century opera but also could inspire more questions and researches on their roles in music education and students training nowadays.

In a period, such as the end of the nineteenth century, the Neapolitan school had assumed different connotations compared to the previous century where it reigned as an undisputed pedagogical tool. However, in a period full of new musical ferments and languages, the partimento and the Neapolitan school rules were still considered *conditio sine qua non* to undertake studies of composition and as instruments still valid to undertake the study of tonal music. Given recent debates on the role of the partimento of musicological research in the last years and in light of the new considerations of this research work, many *stimuli* could inspire further studies regarding the role of partimento as pedagogic tool in our conservatories and musical institutions even nowadays as well as the role of these compositional praxis not only in the instrumental music of the nineteenth century but also in the music of opera composers.

The musical heritage related to the *partimento* and Neapolitan school accumulate different musical genres and composers, but this work is just a beginning of how this heritage survives and could be exploited within the specificity of the dramaturgical language.

To conclude, as an academic research, this thesis is not without limitation and does not claim to be definitively conclusive or provide univocal and definitive interpretations. It has rather exclusively focussed on particular features of a creative art form to affirm the sustained and prominent continuation of a particular musical heritage, in order to reduce the tendency to view historic trends in simplistic terms. Revisionist in essence therefore, it aims to celebrate more intricate complexities in musical influence through time: the many strands of heritage. Such is the nature of directed and penetrating analysis. An analysis which does not want to assert but investigate the contemporary, within the musical traditions of an era, the dialogue with the past strongly influential in the tonal music language of that period, in the light of the artistic and cultural *melieu* of the time.

This irony notwithstanding, a certain revision of the history of opera may be long overdue, and this thesis provides a useful – even poignant – sample dimension among the many pedigrees and roots of opera composition, as an extra to consider. As mentioned before, it may thus be an impetus for future scholars to explore without prejudice the space beyond the Romantic idea of genius, which has obscured or neglected older traditions and context.

The dissertation was born out of my passion to understand the melodrama and the analysis of opera, and particularly the subtle Italian school compositional influences on it. It is my sincere hope that this work might contribute to scholarly revitalisation within musicology to reconsider context and historical influence as greater causal threads through time, and more specifically for late nineteenth-century opera composition, about which I hope and anticipate further questions, suspicions and leads to follow will gradually arise.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Table 1. Alfredo Catalani, *Corso pratico di contrappunto*, Lucca, 1871-1872

Ms: I-Mcom S.Mus 108, fol.9-24.

Siglum	Page number	Note string bass	Notes / Headings	Composer
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I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	1r-2 [2]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	1v-1 [3]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	1v-2 [4]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	1v-3 [5]	C E D G E A G F E A	Sopra un Canto Obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	2r-1 [6]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	2r-2 [7]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	2r-3 [8]	C E D G E A G F E A	Sopra un Canto Obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	2v-1 [9]	G B A D B E D C B E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	2v-2 [10]	C E D G E A G F E A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	2v-3 [11]	F A G C A D C Bb A D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	3r-1 [12]	G B A D B E D C B E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	3r-2 [13]	G B A D B E D C B E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	3r-3 [14]	C E D G E A G F E A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	3v-1 [15]	C D E F G A B C B A	Sopra la scala	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	3v-2 [16]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	4r-1 [17]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	4r-2 [18]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	4v-1 [19]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	4v-2 [20]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	4v-3 [21]	C E D G E A G F E A	Sopra un Canto Obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	5r-1 [22]	G B A D B E D C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	5r-2 [23]	G B A D B E D C D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	5r-3 [24]	G B A D B E D C B E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	5v-1 [25]	C E D G E A G F E A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	5v-2 [26]	C D E F G A B C B A	Sopra la scala	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	6r-1 [27]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	6r-2 [28]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	6r-3 [29]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	6v-1 [30]	C E D G E A G F E A	Sopra un Canto Obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	6v-2 [31]	G B A D B E D C B E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	6v-3 [32]	C E D G E A G F E A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	7r-1 [33]	F A G C A D C Bb A D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	7r-2 [34]	C E D G E A G F E A	Contrap: misto di 1.a, 2.a, 3.a e 4.o specie.	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	7r-3 [35]	C E D G E A G F E A		Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	7v-1 [36]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	7v-2 [37]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	8r-1 [38]	G A B C D E F# G F# E	Sopra la scala	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	8r-2 [39]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	8r-3 [40]	C E D G E A G F E A	Sopra un Canto Obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	8v-1 [41]	G B A D B E D C B E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 1	8v-2 [42]	C E D G E A G F E A		Alfredo Catalani
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I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	25v [13]	Bb Bb A Bb C Bb A G A Bb		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	26v [14]	F G A Bb C Bb A G A Bb		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	27v [15]	C F A Bb A Bb C D C D	Fine del Contrappunto a quattro	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29r-1 [1]	C D E F G A B C B A	Contrappunto a cinque parti	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29r-2 [2]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29r-3 [3]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29v-1 [4]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29v-2 [5]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29v-3 [6]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	29v-4 [7]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30r-1 [8]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30r-2 [9]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30r-3 [10]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30r-4 [11]	C D E F G A B C B A	Contrap: florido sopra la Scala in tutte le parti	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30v-1 [12]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30v-2 [13]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	30v-3 [14]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	31r-1 [15]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	31r-2 [16]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	31r-3 [17]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	31r-4 [18]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	31r-5 [19]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 3	31v-1 [20]	Bb C Eb D F Eb D C Bb		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	34r-1 [1]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	34r-2 [2]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	34r-3 [3]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	34v-1 [4]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	34v-2 [5]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	34v-3 [6]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35r-1 [7]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35r-2 [8]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35r-3 [9]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35r-4 [10]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35r-5 [11]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35r-6 [12]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35v-1 [13]	C D E F G A B C B A	Contrappunto florido a sei parti	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35v-2 [14]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	35v-3 [15]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36r-1 [16]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36r-2 [17]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36r-3 [18]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36v-1 [19]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36v-2 [20]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36v-3 [21]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36v-4 [22]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36v-5 [23]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 5	36v-6 [24]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 6	37r (1)	F C Db C Bb Bb Ab G F C	Contrappunto a sei parti sopra N.o 5 Bassi	Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	41r-1 [1]	C D E F G A B C B A	Contrappunti a sette parti | Sopra la scala	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	41r-2 [2]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	41v-1 [3]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	41v-2 [4]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	42r-1 [5]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	42r-2 [6]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	42v-1 [7]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	42v-2 [8]	C D F E G F E D C	Contrappunti sopra un basso o canto obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	42v-3 [9]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	43r-1 [10]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	43r-2 [11]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	43r-3 [12]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	43r-4 [13]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F	26 Agosto 1871	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	43v-1 [14]	Bb C Eb D F Eb D C Bb		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	43v-2 [15]	Bb C D Eb F G A Bb A G	Contrappunto florido a 7 parti sopra la scala	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	44r-1 [16]	F G A Bb C D E F E D		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	44r-2 [17]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	44v-1 [18]	C D Eb F G Ab A B C C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	44v-2 [19]	Bb C D Eb F G A Bb Bb A		Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	45r-1 [20]	F G A Bb C D E F F E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	45r-2 [21]	F G A Bb C D E F F E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	45v-1 [22]	Bb C Eb D F Eb D C Bb	Contrappunto florido a 7 parti sopra un canto obbligato	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	45v-2 [23]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	45v-3 [24]	G A C B D C B A G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	45v-4 [25]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	46r-1 [26]	C D F E G F E D C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	46r-2 [27]	F G Bb A C Bb A G F		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 7	46r-3 [28]	Bb C Eb D F Eb D C Bb		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	50r [1]	C D E F G A B C B A		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	50v-1 [2]	G A B C D E F# G F# E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	50v-2 [3]	C D E F G A B C C B		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	51r-1 [4]	F G A Bb C D E F F E		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	51r-2 [5]	G C A D B E A C D G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	51v-1 [6]	C F D G E A D F# G C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	51v-2 [7]	C F D G E A D F G C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	52r-1 [8]	Bb Eb C F D G C Eb F Bb		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	52r-2 [9]	C D E F G A B C C B		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	52v-1 [10]	F G A Bb C D E F F E		Alfredo Catalani

I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	52v-2 [11]	G A B C D E F# G F# E	8 Settembre 1871	Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	53r [12]	C D Eb F G Ab A Bb B C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	53v-1 [13]	C F D G E C# D F G C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	53v-2 [14]	G C A D B G# A C G C		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	54r-1	C F D G E C# D F G		Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 9	54r-2	Bb Eb C F D B C Eb F F		Alfredo Catalan

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Appendix II

Table 2: Correspondence between Alfredo Catalani and Fenaroli partimenti.

10 Partimenti

Siglum	Page no.	Note string bass	Concordances	Notes / Headings	Composer
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	11r (2)	G D Eb D C Bb A G F Eb	Choron 1808, Tome 1, p. 13 (46) Colet 1846, p. 174-1 (43) E-Mn M.2280 [Fenaroli], fol. 33r [31] Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 1, p. 66 (2) I-ANAd Partimenti, Libro Secondo [Fenaroli], p. 10 I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro II, fol. 23v I-Mc Noseda O 40-6, fol. 22r I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 62 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 70v [36] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 11r [2] I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 203r [39] Imbimbo 1812, book II, p. 73-1 (18) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 15r-2 (3)	partimento progressivo no. 18	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	15r (3)	D D D Bb A F D A F D	Choron 1804, p. 109 Choron 1808, Tome 1, p. 17 (54) Colet 1846, p. 177-1 (50) E-Mn M.2280 [Fenaroli], fol. 37v [39] Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 1, p. 70-2 (10) I-ANAd Partimenti, Libro Secondo [Fenaroli], p. 15-2 I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro II, fol. 27v I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 70 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 78v [44] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 15r [3] I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 25v (25) Imbimbo 1812, book II, p. 76-2 (26)	Bassi per imitazione	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	16v (5)	C B C A B A B G A G	Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 118 (12) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 119 (12) I-Bg Mayr 248.11, fol. 8r (16) I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro III, fol. 41v I-MC 2-C-1/7 Fenaroli, Partimenti SN, fol. 127v, 12 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 95 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 104v [55] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 16v [5] I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 197v [30] I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 27r (28) Imbimbo 1812, book IV, p. 101-2 (12)		Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	18r [6]	B B B A# A# A A G# G# G	Choron 1804, p. 118 Colet 1846, p. 267-2 (134) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 1, p. 94-6* Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 148 (27) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 149 (27) I-Bg Mayr 248.11, fol. 20r [42] I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro III, fol. 54r-2 I-MC 2-C-1/7 Fenaroli, Partimenti SN, fol. 142v, 27 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 113	partimenti senza numeri 33	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani

			I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 121v-2 [81] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 18r [6] I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 214v [58] I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 30v (36) Imbimbo 1812, book IV, p. 108-1 (27) Napoli, J. 1969, part 1, p. 8-2 (13)		
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	18v [7]	F E Eb D Db C C C Bb A	Colet 1846, p. 268-1 (135) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 1, p. 94-3* Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 150 (28) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 151 (28) I-Bg Mayr 248.11, fol. 21v [45] I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro III, fol. 55v I-MC 2-C-1/7 Fenaroli, Partimenti SN, fol. 143v, 28 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 116 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 123v [84] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 18v [7] I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 210r [51] I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 29r (32) Imbimbo 1812, book IV, p. 108-2 (28)	partimenti senza numeri 36	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	20r [8]	C Ab G Ab Ab G F G G F	Colet 1846, p. 269-2 (139) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 174 (40) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 175 (40) I-Bg Mayr 248.11, fol. 18r [38] I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro III, fol. 52v I-MC 2-C-1/7 Fenaroli, Partimenti SN, fol. 153v, 38 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 109 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 120r [77] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 20r [8] I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 212r [54] I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 31r (37) Imbimbo 1812, book IV, p. 112-2 (40)	partimenti senza numeri 29	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	21r [9]	C D Eb F Eb D C D Eb F	Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 138 (22) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 139 (22) I-Bg Mayr 248.11, fol. 12r (25) I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro III, fol. 46r I-MC 2-C-1/7 Fenaroli, Partimenti SN, fol. 137v, 22 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 118 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 109v [64] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 21r [9] I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 209r [49] I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 31v (38) Imbimbo 1812, book IV, p. 105-2 (22)		Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 6	39v (5)	F G Ab A A A Bb Ab G F	Choron 1808, Tome 1, p. 19 (58) Colet 1846, p. 179 (54) E-Mn M.2280 [Fenaroli], fol. 39v [43] Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 1, p. 72-2 (14) I-ANAd Partimenti, Libro Secondo [Fenaroli], p. 18-2 I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro II, fol. 29v I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 74 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 82v [48] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 6, fol. 39v (5) Imbimbo 1812, book II, p. 78-2 (30)	partimento progressivo no. 30	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8	49r (4)	E F# G G# A A# B E A B [+] E F# G G# A A# B G A B	Colet 1846, p. 263-3 (124) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 108-2 (7) Guarnaccia - Metodo, part 2, p. 109-2 (7) I-Bg Mayr 248.11, fol. 7v-2 (15)	partimenti senza numeri 6	Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani

			I-Bsf M.F. 1-8, Libro III, fol. 41r-2 I-MC 2-C-1/7 Fenaroli, Partimenti SN, fol. 123r, 7 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.115 [Fenaroli], p. 94 I-Mc Noseda Th.c.121 [Fenaroli], fol. 104r [54] I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8, fol. 49r (4) I-Nc 20-6-20 [Zanetti], part 1, fol. 197r [29] Imbimbo 1812, book IV, p. 99-3 (7)		
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part X	54v (1)	D G# A Bb A G F E F D	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.117/1, fol. 14v (8) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.135 [Fenaroli], p. 9-4 (8) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part X, fol. 54v (1) I-Nc 22-1-23/21 [Fenaroli], fol. 6v-2 (12) I-Nc 22-2-6/2 [Fenaroli], fol. 3r-4 (8) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 4v-1 (8)		Fedele Fenaroli | Alfredo Catalani

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Appendix III

Table 3: Correspondence between Alfredo Catalani and Mattei partimenti.[312]

Siglum	Page no.	Note string bass	Concordances	Composer
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	9r (1)	D E F# A F# D A A B C#	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.127 [Mattei], p. 21-2 (2) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.143 [Fiodo], p. 22-2 (2) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 9r [1] I-Nc Roche A-5-4 [Zingarelli | Mattei], part 5, fol. 122v-1 (2) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 14v (1) Mattei, Pratica d'accompagnamento 1824, p. 38-4 (2) Mattei, Bassi numerati 1850, p. 152 (89)	Stanislao Mattei | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	22r [10]	C D E F G Ab G F Eb D	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.127 [Mattei], p. 163-2 (4) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 22r [10] I-Nc Roche A-5-4 [Zingarelli | Mattei], part 5, fol. 163v-2 (1) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 32r (39) Mattei, Pratica d'accompagnamento 1824, p. 106-2 [4] Mattei, Bassi numerati 1850, p. 90 (49)	Stanislao Mattei | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2	23v [11]	A B C D E F E D C# D	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.127 [Mattei], p. 103-2 (2) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 2, fol. 23v [11] I-Nc Roche A-5-4 [Zingarelli | Mattei], part 5, fol. 147r-2 (2) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 33v (40) Mattei, Pratica d'accompagnamento 1824, p. 76-2 [2]	Stanislao Mattei | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8	46v (1)	C D E F E A G G# A E	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.127 [Mattei], p. 7-2 (3) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.143 [Fiodo], p. 1-2 (1) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8, fol. 46v (1) I-Nc Roche A-5-4 [Zingarelli | Mattei], part 5, fol. 117v-2 (1) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 19v (13) Mattei, Pratica d'accompagnamento 1824, p. 33-2 (1)	Stanislao Mattei | Alfredo Catalani
I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8	47r (2)	G D E B C D C B E A	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.127 [Mattei], p. 11-2 (1) I-Mc Noseda Th.c.143 [Fiodo], p. 11-2 (1) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8, fol. 47r (2) I-Nc Roche A-5-4 [Zingarelli | Mattei], part 5, fol. 119v-2 (1) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 18v (11) Mattei, Pratica d'accompagnamento 1824, p. 35-2 (1)	Stanislao Mattei | Alfredo Catalani

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I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8	48r (3)	F C Db A Bb Bb Ab G F G [+] F C Db Ab A Bb Bb Ab G F [sic]	I-Mc Noseda Th.c.127 [Mattei], p. 169-2 (3) I-Mcom S. Mus. 108, part 8, fol. 48r (3) I-Nc Roche A-5-4 [Zingarelli | Mattei], part 5, fol. 165r-2 (4) I-PSCmp [Michele Puccini, Corso 1846], fol. 21r (16) Mattei, Pratica d'accompagnamento 1824, p. 110-2 (3) Mattei, Bassi numerati 1850, p. 185 (108)	Stanislao Mattei | Alfredo Catalani

Appendix IV

Vincenzo Lavigna

Exercises and notebooks: I-Mc, NOseda, Th.c.117/a-g

Studi di contrappunto disposti a due. Fatti sotto la direzione del Sig. D.Saverio Verde da me Vincenzo Lavigna. Principiante nel Mese di Settembre nel 1791 e finite nel mese di ottobre nel 1792,

Studi di contrappunto disposti a due per imitazione fatte sotto la direzione del Sig.Saverio Verde da me Vincenzo Lavigna. Principiate nel Mese di Dicembre 1792 e finite nel mese di Gennaio 1793.

Disposizioni a Tré per Imitazione fate sotto la direzione del Sig.D. Fedele Fenaroli, e D. Giuseppe Gargani. Da me Vincenzo Lavigna, Principiate nel mese di Luglio nell'anno 1793 e copite nel mese di Ottobre nel detto anno 1793.

Studio di contrappunto disposto a Quattro sotto la direzione del sig.d.Fedele Fenaroli. Da me Vincenzo Lavigna. Principiato a Dí 12 Gennaio nell'anno 1794 e compiuto a í 2 Giugno nell'anno 1794.

Studio di contrappunto fugato a 4. Sotto la direzione del Sig.d.Fedele Fenaroli. Da me Vincenzo Lavigna. Principiato alli 8.to d'Aprile nell'Anno 1795 e compito alli 23 Giugno nell'Anno medesimo.

Fugues

Sei fughe per organo. Per uso di me Vincenzo Lavigna. Anno del Signore 1792 I Novembre.

Fughe per Cembalo del Signor D. Fedele Fenaroli. Per uso di me Vincenzo Lavigna. Alli 4 Novembre 1792.

Fughe per Cembalo del Sig. D. Fedele Fenaroli. Da me Vincenzo Lavigna. 1794, 29 Novembre.

Dieci fughe in Toni cromatici per Cembalo o Piano Forte Composte dal Sig.D. Fedele Fenaroli. Ad uso di me Vincenzo Lavigna 1795.

APPENDIX V

FUGUES 1882-1889

Fughe a due parti, *8 fughe a 2 Voci, 1 fuga per pianoforte*; Anno scolastico 1882-83;
NA - Rari 4.5.1(17)

Fuga a due parti, Maestro Serrao, Anno scolastico 1883.
NA - [collocazione] Rari 4.5.1(19)

Fuga, 9 giugno 1884
NA- Rari 4.5.1(21)

3 Fughe a 4 parti: 26 luglio 1884.
NA - Rari 4.5.1(23)

Fuga su tema del M.o Nicola d'Arienzo, *Fuga composta all'esame finale dell'anno scolastico 1884-1885*: 21 agosto 1885.
NA - Rari 4.5.1(22)

Classe del M.o Paolo Serrao| Fughe a quattro parti: 4 fughe a 4 voci, classe del M.o Paolo Serrao. Anno scolastico: 1885-1886;
NA - Rari 4.5.1(20)

Tema del Direttore Pietro Platania: *Fuga*, agosto 1886.
NA - Rari 4.5.1(25)

Soggetto del Direttore P. Platania - Esame di Diploma, Fuga a 5, soggetto del Direttore P. Platania, Martedi 13 Agosto 1889.
NA - Rari 4.5.1(24)

Notebooks, Courses, Canons. 1879-1885

Armonia: *comprende accordi di 3a e 5a, forma di partimento. 31 luglio 1879; Bassi di Zingarelli| Semplici consonanze, partimenti; Zingarelli Nicola, 16 Bassi realizzati.*
NA - [collocazione] 4.5.1(1)

Corso di contrappunto a due parti: *esercizi di contrappunto a due voci, 18 giugno 1881*. Anno scolastico 1880-1881.
NA - [collocazione] Rari 4.5.1(10)

Corso di Contrappunto a quattro parti: *Cadenze; Salti a salire; Scale a salire, Scale a scendere*. Anno scolastico 1881-82;
NA - Rari 4.5.1(14)

Esempi di ritardi disposti a quattro parti: *11 bassi con ritardi, 1 contrappunto a cinque parti*. Anno scolastico 1881-1882;
NA - [collocazione] Rari 4.5.1(6)

Basso disposto a 4 voci, 25 agosto Anno scolastico 1882;
NA -Rari 4.5.1(5)

Bassi di Fenaroli|disposti a 4 parti. Anno scolastico: 1882-1883.
(Originale e Copia in data 14 febbraio 1882)
NA -Rari 4.5.1(4)

Contrappunto a tre parti, Imitazioni: *esercizi di contrappunto a 3 parti*. Anno scolastico 1881-1882.
NA - Rari 4.5.1(12)

Basso dato dal Direttore Lauro Rossi all'esame finale dell'anno scolastico 1881-1882: Anno scolastico 1881-1882.
NA - Rari 4.5.1(2)

Canoni a tre ed a quattro parti: *canoni a 3 voci; 7 canoni a 4 voci; classe del Maestro Paolo Serrao*. Anno scolastico 1884-1885;
NA - 4.5.1(9)

APPENDIX VI

FUGUES (1882-1889)

Fuga a 5 voci,
I-NA Rari 4.5.12(6) –

Fuga a 5 voci
I-NA – Rari 4.5.12 (7).

Fuga a cinque parti:
loc: NA - [collocazione] Rari 4.5.12

Fuga in do maggiore.
I-Mc, Ms.TM.25

Fuga a otto voci,
I-NA – Rari 4.5.12 (9).

NOTEBOOK, CANONS, PARTIMENTI (1883-1889).

Partimenti, 1883.
I-NA -Rari 4.5.12(14) e (13).

Corso di contrappunto a due e a tre voci. (1883).
I-NA - Rari 4.5.12(3).

Imitazioni a due voci (1883)
I-NA – Rari 4.5.12 (10).

Imitazione

I-NA – Rari 4.5.12 (11).

Canone a 4 parti: agosto 1886;

NA - Rari 4.5.1(8)

Canone a 4 parti: 20 marzo 1885.

NA - Rari 4.5.1(7)

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